

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—THE UNITY OF THE PHYSICAL WORLD

Le Ciel Géologique. Prodrôme de géologie comparée. Par STANISLAS MEUNIER. Paris. 1871.

Die Spectralanalyse in ihrer Anwendung auf die Stoffe der Erde und die Natur der Himmelskörper, Gemeinverständlich dargestellt. von Dr. H. SCHELLEN. Zweite Auflage. Braunschweig. 1871.

The Heavens. An Illustrated Hand-book of Popular Astronomy. By AMÉDÉE GUILLEMIN. Edited by J. NORMAN LOCKYER, F.R.A.S., F.R.S. Fourth edition. Revised by RICHARD A. PROCTOR, B.A., F.R.A.S. New York. 1871.

Cours élémentaire d'Astronomie. Par M. CH. DELAUNAY. Paris. 1870.

Le Soleil. Exposé de principales découvertes modernes sur la structure de cet astre, son influence dans l'univers et ses relations avec les autres corps célestes. Par le P. SECCHI, S. J. Paris. 1870.

The Sun: Ruler, Fire, Light, and Life of the Planetary System. By RICHARD A. PROCTOR, B.A., F.R.A.S. London. 1871.

THE six works whose titles are above cited may serve to index a recent progress in cosmical physics which constitutes one of the most noteworthy features of the science of the nineteenth century. They report additions made to our knowledge of the constitution and history of the heavenly bodies during the last ten or fifteen years scarcely equaled by the acquisitions of any previous decade and a half. This recent progress, vast as it is, yields in interest to the promises of the *new status* which has been conferred upon scientific investigation. The sciences are out of their ruts. The time is past when each specialist can spend a life-time over his chosen problems without arousing the interest of laborers in other fields, or hope to

attain to prompt and valid solutions without calling them to his aid—each with such knowledge and appliances as his own labors have placed at his command. A new sympathy among the sciences is awakened. They are beginning to reach a common ground, and to reflect the unity which belongs to the universal system of truth. The sciences are becoming broadened and liberalized; their metes and bounds are less distinctly marked; like the colors of the rainbow, they mutually overlap and blend, and lose all separate identity, save in their dominant features, because, like the colors of the rainbow, they are only the outcome of a varied unity.

The astronomer, seeking for a knowledge of the heavenly bodies, first lays the theory of optics under contribution to improve his power of seeing. Then he finds himself in the midst of a universe animated by mechanical forces, and executing its activities through geometrical forms and along mathematical lines. The astronomer must needs be an optician and a geometer. Next, optics places at his service a peculiar instrument, which, by a marvelous resolution of light from the sun and stars, presents a body of phenomena utterly unintelligible till chemistry steps in and introduces to his acquaintance the guests of the laboratory. Now he calls over the names of sodium, hydrogen, and barium, and they respond to him from star and nebula.

The geologist, beginning with the attempt to unravel the structural arrangement of the materials of the earth, soon discovers that it has had a history—that he must endeavor to trace the successive monuments of this history back to its commencement. He calls upon the mineralogist to expound the constitution of the rocks—the solid records of the history whose reality is disclosed; and the chemist appears, to reduce all things to five or six dozen simples. Soon he discovers evidences of ancient heat, and finds himself involved in experiments upon the actual escape of heat from the earth, and abstruse mathematical calculations in reference to the necessary or possible rate of cooling from any assignable condition.* He penetrates back to a molten state, and here he catches the utterances of the astronomer, gazing through his tube at the

* See especially the researches of Poisson, Fourier, Hopkins, and Thomson, (Sir William.)

sun and the stars. "Igneous vapors," "molten worlds," are reported from the depths of space. "And here," responds the geologist, "in the very world which is our observatory, behold a planetary slag which, some time back, was a 'molten world,' and why not an 'igneous vapor?'" Geology and astronomy join hands and set out in the search for formative worlds which may serve as types of ancient stages of terrestrial history. Later in that history are found the relics of organized creatures, upon which existence has been conferred as the world was fitted for them. The rocky beds of the earth's crust are their tombs, which no sacred scruples restrain the geologist from exploring. With the zoologist upon his right, and the botanist upon his left, he walks among these tombs, and as his companions pronounce the names and alliances of these relics of the organic world he assigns them their respective places in the system of terrestrial preparations, and writes down their respective epochs in the unfolding of the pre-Adamic ages. Thus geology is the resultant of mechanics, thermotics, mathematics, mineralogy, chemistry, astronomy, zoology, and botany, and of all the aids which these sciences summon to their completion and efficiency.

It is this conception of the sources of geological information which M. Meunier has brought into requisition in seeking to retrace the evolution of our world to its beginning. He sees in the present condition of the masses of cosmical matter pictures of a former condition of the earth. Drawing upon the body of astronomical facts, which nowhere find a completer popular statement than in the works of Guillemin, Delaunay, or Chambers,* he presents us an array of evidences demonstrating a unity, not only of the physical sciences, but of the dominion of the forces of matter, and the intelligence which their activities reveal throughout the utmost breadth of the visible universe. The work of Father Secchi, of the "Roman College," is a charming volume, setting forth in fuller detail every thing which is known respecting the sun as a cosmical body. It embraces the results of the Jesuit father's original observations and speculations upon the sun and its relations to the other heavenly bodies, the earliest records of which may be found scattered through the volumes of the *Comtes rendus*

* Chambers' (Geo. F.) "Descriptive Astronomy." 8vo., pp. 816. Oxford, 1867.

of the Académie des Sciences at Paris from 1863 to 1870. Proctor's work, which appeared almost simultaneously, is written with the same object in view, and, like the other, contains a large infusion of originality. The most marvelous recent advances in cosmical physics have been attained through the use of the spectroscope, which has brought us to a knowledge of the chemical constitution of the stars—a mysterious analysis of matter from which we are separated by millions and billions of miles. The philosophy and forms of the spectroscope, and its applications in spectral analysis, are completely set forth and magnificently illustrated in the work of Schellen, which has the further merit of being the most recent work of its class—a prime quality in reports of scientific progress, characterized by such strides as have been taken by spectroscopic research.*

A survey of the field of scientific truth, as set forth in these works, is well adapted to impress the reader with a conviction that all parts of the visible universe appertain to one system of things; that all have proceeded from one commencement, have been actuated by one impulse, have experienced one history, are bound to a common destination; and that each exemplifies, at every moment of its existence, a stage of evolution which is embraced in the life of every other. These facts, so largely reinforced by recent discoveries, reflect important light upon the question of evolution in the material world; but we propose to confine our attention to the scientific proofs of the *co-existent unity* of the system of matter.

I. *The order and uniformities of the solar system.*

(1.) *Orbital motions.* When we lift our thoughts to the contemplation of the planetary system, of which our earth is a member, we are profoundly impressed by the harmony of those silent but majestic movements executed in the depths of space. The noiseless flight of over a hundred worlds about a common center, passing and repassing without collision or mistake, like partners moving through the orderly mazes of a dance, is a

* This work has been translated into English by the daughters of the astronomer Lassell, and edited, with notes, by William Huggins. An edition of the translation is published by Van Nostrand, New York. The subject is also explained in the works of Proctor and Secchi, cited above. Roscoe's "Spectrum Analysis" is also republished in New York; and information conveniently accessible may be found in Chatfield's "University Series," No. VII, and Lee & Shepard's "Half-Hour Recreations in Popular Science," Nos. III, IV, and V.

spectacle well calculated to awaken the emotions of every soul not dead to the sentiment of the sublime.

Eight major planets are known to belong to this system, besides one hundred and twenty-one * minor planets, or asteroids, already discovered. These one hundred and twenty-nine bodies all possess a common orbital motion, from west to east, around the same center, indicating at once that they all belong to one system, regulated by a common law. This conviction is strengthened when we observe that the several orbits possess the same mathematical properties, and that the planets move with corresponding velocities in corresponding parts of their orbits. The orbits, for instance, as expressed by the first law of Kepler, are all ellipses, with the sun situated in one of their foci; while the motions of all the planets are most rapid when in their lower apsides—or those parts of their orbits nearest the sun—and slowest at the opposite extremities of their orbits. Moreover, it appears from mathematical demonstration that the orbital motion of every planet is capable of being caused by the action of two forces—the one a *tangential impulse*, giving the planet a motion through space, which, from the inertia of matter, would be continuous, the other a *constant* force, acting in the direction of the center of gravity of the sun, with an intensity varying directly as the masses and inversely as the square of the planet's distance from the sun.

In the next place it will be observed that these orbits all lie in nearly the same absolute plane, suggesting that the planetary movements have all been generated under uniform circumstances. They do not present the spectacle of a swarm of bees, darting in every conceivable direction through space, each actuated by an independent impulse, but rather the consonant and rhythmical movements of a fleet of ships wafted onward by a common breeze.

The orderly arrangements of the planets in respect to distances from the sun must also be noted. They revolve at regularly graduated distances. No clashing can ever occur. Moreover, there are mathematical relations existing between

* The one hundred and eighteenth was discovered, March 15, 1872, by Dr. Luther, of Bilk; the one hundred and nineteenth, April 3, by Prof. Watson, of Ann Arbor; the one hundred and twentieth, April 10, by Borelli, of Naples; and the one hundred and twenty-first, May 12, by Watson.

their velocities, periodic revolutions, and distances from the sun, which are the same for all the planets, and show that the same physical laws extend throughout the solar system.* These relations are known as the second and third laws of Kepler, and are thus enunciated:

2. *The radius vector of any planet* (that is, the line from the planet to the center of its motion) *sweeps over equal areas in equal times.*

3. *The squares of the periodic times of the planets are to each other as the cubes of their mean distances from the sun.*

These relations are absolutely fixed, and they demonstrate that one dominion extends to the utmost limits of the solar system.

(2.) *Satellites.* A further correspondence among the several members of this system is the presence of secondary planets revolving about five of them. The earth is accompanied by one satellite, Jupiter by four, Saturn by eight, Uranus by six or eight, and Neptune by one or more. Each satellite revolves about its primary in an elliptic orbit, having the primary planet in one of the foci. The direction of the orbital motion of the satellites, like that of the primaries, is from west to east—except that the satellites of Uranus, and probably of Neptune, exhibit a retrograde motion, from east to west. Could we suppose that the direction of the original motion, in the systems of Uranus and Neptune, was from west to east, and that, by some convulsion, those systems had been bodily overturned, it is apparent that the same actual motion of the satellites, in reference to their primaries, would become a *reversed* motion in reference to the earth, or any other fixed point in space. This may be illustrated to the eye by the use of a watch. When the watch lies upon its back, the extremities of the pointers represent satellites having a *direct* motion. In that part of their circuit nearest the observer that motion is from right to left; or, if the person be facing southward toward the belt, where the planetary bodies appear, the motion is from *west to east*. If now the watch be inverted, so as to lie on its face, the extremities of the pointers move from left to right, a motion which, transferred to the southern heavens, as before, becomes retrograde—that is, a motion from east to west.* If it were

* The orbital motions here referred to must not be confounded with the appar-

admissible, therefore, to suppose that, since the birth of the systems of Uranus and Neptune, they have undergone an inversion in space, it appears that, notwithstanding the anomaly which they present, their rotations in respect to themselves are in the same direction as the motions of the other systems;* and they are thus original parts of what appears to be a common effect traceable to a general cause responsible for the uniform movements executed throughout the solar system.

(3.) *Axial motions.* In the next place, all the planetary bodies revolve upon their own axes. It is further remarkable that the axial motions are all in the same direction, and that this direction is the same as that in which the planets revolve in their orbits. It is probable, however, that Uranus and Neptune have a retrograde motion, like their satellites; but this, as before, may be explained on the hypothesis of an inversion of those planets. The sun, also, and moon, have axial rotations in the same direction. We witness, then, the spectacle of probably more than a hundred cosmical bodies, all spinning about their axes with silent and ceaseless velocity, as if some common cause had affected all alike. It is as if the Almighty Hand had taken each in succession and set it whirling, as the boy spins his top upon the floor—each dancing off in due order, but with uniform motion, until the last two are reached, when the planetary tops were inverted, and set to spinning upon their handles. There could scarcely be a spectacle accessible to human intelligence more convincing than the planetary motions, that one plan and one purpose reign throughout the realm of the solar system. Such Kepler confessed to be the impression made upon his mind by the contemplation of the harmonious movements of the heavenly bodies; and such was the confession of Newton. “The wisdom of the Lord is infinite,” says Kepler, “as are also his glory and his power. Ye heav-

ent daily movement of the heavenly bodies from east to west, caused by the rotation of the earth upon its axis. These orbital motions, as in the case of our own moon, are revealed by the appearance of the same planet, on each successive evening, a little further eastward among the constellations.

* This hypothesis is favored by the circumstance that the inversion of the system of Uranus is not complete—having been carried but little beyond a quarter of a circumference. We might homologize the attitude of these satellites by saying that they have an inclination of about one hundred and one degrees to the plane of their ecliptic, while our moon has an inclination of only five degrees.

ens, sing his praises! Sun, moon, and planets, glorify him in your ineffable language; praise him, celestial harmonies, and all ye who can comprehend them!"* Such language sounds more like a psalm of David than the conclusion of a learned scientific treatise. "The Master of the heavens," says Newton, "governs all things. . . . He is the one God and the same God every-where and always." . . . †

(4.) *Planetary Forms.* The rain-drop takes the form of a sphere, and so does the molten lead falling from the summit of the shot-tower. The physicist informs us that this is the *natural* form of every detached body of matter whose particles are free to adjust themselves according to an inherent law of the mass. A moment's reflection on the nature of a central force will convince any one that no other form is possible among a body of particles each equally drawn toward a common center of gravity. But what interests us most is the fact that the planetary bodies, hundreds and thousands of millions of miles distant from our earth, have felt and manifested the urgency of the same law. The planets, primary and secondary, have all shaped themselves after the model of the rain-drop. We have so long heard that the planetary bodies are spherical that we cease to reflect on the meaning of the fact; but this common form implies that the totality of matter within the orbit of Neptune subsists under the government of one empire whose laws are enforced equally in the midst of a Newfoundland fog, in the immense globe of the solar flame, and in the solid body of Neptune shivering on the frozen verge of the realm of planetary existence.

(5.) *Physiographic Features of the Planets.* The superficial characters of the planetary bodies, so far as we have been able to learn them, present marked analogies with those of our own planet. The surface of the moon, as is well known, is distinctly diversified by mountain, valley, and plain. A large number of the summits present crater-like forms with enormous gorges variously grouped about, and have generally been regarded as monuments of extinct volcanic action. In respect to climate the planet Mars furnishes distinct evidences of a close analogy with the earth. His succession of seasons must

* Kepler: *Harmonices Mundi, libri quinque.*

† Newton: *Philosophiæ naturalis principia mathematica.*

be similar to our own. It is alternately winter and summer in each hemisphere. Accordingly, the shining mantle of snow is seen to gradually extend itself toward the equator in the hemisphere turned away from the sun, and to gradually retreat during the other half of the *Martial* year. The snow mantle which covers the polar regions of the earth must exhibit a similar annual advance and retreat to observers upon the planet *Mars*. Finally, the last-named planet, which seems, indeed, in many respects, to be the nearest analogue of the earth, offers a distribution of land and water which strongly suggests the hydrographic arrangements of our own planet. The equatorial regions are mainly occupied by four large continents, which are separated by vast oceans diversified by islands and connected by straits, protruding, in some places, broad gulfs into the borders of the land, and in others sending out long tortuous inlets, one of which attains the length of 3,000 miles, and must be essentially similar to the mediterranean channel which connected the Gulf of Mexico with the Arctic Ocean in the *Mesozoic* age of terrestrial history.

The atmosphere of this planet possesses physical properties similar to our own. It is charged with vapors and gases, and floating clouds make beautiful its evening sunsets and its morning sunrises, and not unfrequently fierce storms sweep over the surface of the planet, obscuring it to telescopic vision.*

The surface of *Mercury* is known to be diversified by valleys and mountains, and one of the latter is thought to be no less than eleven miles in height. *Schröter* believed that he detected the existence of an active volcano. *Venus* is believed to be enveloped in an atmosphere, and to present great inequalities of surface, exceeding even those upon the surface of *Mercury*. During the transits of these planets across the sun's disc several observers have reported seeing grayish light spots, which rotate with the planets. *Schröter*, *Harding*, *Fritsch*, and *Moll* have seen them in transits of *Mercury*, and at least one observer detected such a spot during a transit of *Venus*.†

* Lockyer: "Mem. Royal Astronom. Soc.," vol. xxxii, p. 183. On the analogies of *Mars* and the Earth see, besides the works cited, Proctor: "Other Worlds than Ours," chap. iv.

† Chambers: "Descriptive Astronomy," book ii, chap. iv

Such spots possibly mark the sites of active volcanoes. Jupiter is believed to be furnished with an atmosphere in which float vast changing belts of watery vapor, and similar opinions are entertained in reference to the body of the planet Saturn.

Such are the most striking phenomena which evince the existence of a bond of relationship binding the members of the solar system in a unity. It seems impossible to contemplate the variety and complexity of the movements of these planetary bodies, and the incessant responses which they yield to each other's perturbing influences, without being struck with admiration of the harmony, security, and stability with which they move in their appointed courses, and the simplicity of the primal forces to which all these phenomena may be traced. Given the force of gravity and a single impulse, and the life-time of a planet can be charted. Supposing the earth created and placed at the distance of 91,500,000 miles from the sun, gravity alone would produce a fall upon the sun. But if at the same instant, or at any time during its fall, another force, however slight, should give the earth a push in a direction across its line of descent, the earth would pass by the sun, and fly onward to the distance of 91,500,000 miles beyond, when it would return and pass the sun on the opposite side, and thus an orbital motion would be established. If the tangential impulse were nearly equal to the centripetal attraction, and directed at right angles to the line of descent, the elliptic path described would approximate nearly to the actual form of the earth's orbit. If the line of the tangential force should not pass through the earth's center of gravity, a *rotation* would be generated as well as an orbital motion.

Further, since the several planets revolve about the sun in the same direction, and in nearly the same plane, it is apparent that the tangential impulse which may have imparted to each its orbital and axial motions must have acted in one plane and in the same direction; and though it seems to have acted along lines at different distances from the sun, it is conceivable that it may have been a single cause which, at the periods of birth of the several planets, may have assumed these different positions in accordance with some intelligible law of change.

Now science has long reflected upon these circumstances,

and has framed a *hypothesis* in accordance with which these varied movements of the planetary bodies may be traced back to a common condition, molded and actuated by a common impulse, and launched in accordance with a uniform plan into that state of delicate equipoise between centripetal and centrifugal forces which so excites our admiration and amazement. We say it was originally a "hypothesis," as the doctrine of gravitation was originally a hypothesis; but like that hypothesis, this has gradually developed into a settled doctrine of science, which is gaining the general acceptance of the best physicists and astronomers throughout the world. It is not our purpose at present to furnish an exposition or systematic proof of the hypothesis, but simply to suggest the culmination of a series of phenomena and relations which bind our whole assemblage of planetary bodies in the intimate and inseparable unity of a single family.

II. *Extension of the laws of the solar system to the fixed stars.*

(1.) *Distances of the stars.* Vast as the interval from the sun to the remotest planet, it is insignificant compared with the gulf of space which intervenes between Neptune and the fixed stars. Neptune is about 2,745,000,000 miles distant from the sun; but Alpha Centauri, the nearest star, is removed 7,466 times that distance, or 20,496,000,000,000 miles. It will convey some idea of the relative values of these numbers to state that if we represent the distance of Neptune from the sun by a line eight (7.8) inches in length, the distance of the earth from the sun will correspond to a line one quarter (0.26) of an inch in length, and the distance of Alpha Centauri will correspond to a line *one mile in length*. If we reduce the distance of Alpha Centauri to one hundred feet, the distance of Neptune would be eighteen ten thousandths (0.0018) of an inch, which is about *one sixth the diameter of a human hair*.

On the same scale of representation as before, the star 61 Cygni will be removed to the distance of 2.4 miles; Vega, 5.9 miles; Sirius, the brightest of the stars, 6.1 miles; Iota Ursæ Majoris, 6.9 miles; Arcturus, 7.2 miles; Polaris, 13.7 miles; Capella, 20.0 miles. These are the distances of stars scattered about the nearest outskirts of the firmament. The great mass of the fixed stars lies hundreds of times as remote as these. Sir William Herschel believed that he reached with his great

telescope, stars which lie 2,300 times the average distance of stars of the first magnitude, and yet we possess abundant evidence that throughout this vast realm stretches but one physical empire.

TABLE OF DISTANCES FROM THE SUN.*

| Objects. | Radius of Earth's Orbit. | Millions of Miles. | Proportional. | Time for Passage of Light. |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| Earth | 1 | 91 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 0.26 in. | 8 m. 18 sec. |
| Neptune | 30 | 2,745 | 8.8 in. | 4 h. 9 m. |
| Aphelion, Donati's Comet... | 238 | 22,000 | 5 ft. 2 in. | 33 h. |
| " Comet of 1861 (ⁱ).. | 440 | 40,121 | 9 ft. 6 in. | 61 h. |
| " Comet of 1844 (ⁱⁱ).. | 4,000 | 368,000 | 86 ft. 8 in. | 20 d. 18 h. |
| Alpha Centauri | 224,000 | 20,496,000 | 1 mile. | 3,537 yrs. |
| 61 Cygni | 550,920 | 50,409,000 | 2.4 mile. | 8.49 " |
| Vega | 1,330,700 | 121,759,000 | 5.9 " | 20.87 " |
| Sirius | 1,375,000 | 125,812,000 | 6.1 " | 21.58 " |
| Iota Ursæ Majoris | 1,550,800 | 142,356,000 | 6.9 " | 24.41 " |
| Arcturus | 1,622,800 | 148,486,000 | 7.2 " | 25.47 " |
| Polaris | 3,078,600 | 281,692,000 | 13.7 " | 48.46 " |
| Capella | 4,484,000 | 410,286,000 | 20.0 " | 70.74 " |

(2.) *Comets.* Besides the planets belonging to our system, there are already known thirty-six mysterious bodies, called comets, which also revolve with regularity about the sun. Though the amount of matter which they possess is astonishingly insignificant, and their substance is of such tenuity that the light of the stars has been seen to shine through it, they move in their appointed orbits with nearly the same regularity as the ponderous planets, and all the phenomena of their motions have been explained on the same physical theory. Some of these comets, in receding from the neighborhood of the sun, retire no further than the orbit of Jupiter; others fly onward to the distance of Uranus; while Halley's comet travels 338,000,000 miles beyond the orbit of Neptune, and occupies seventy-seven years in its revolution. Still others penetrate the starless void to greater depths, and yet signify their allegiance to the laws of the solar system. Donati's comet has a

* The quantities in this table have been calculated from Stone's corrected parallax of the sun, (8."91.) Should the earth's distance from the sun be taken at ninety-two millions of miles, the quantities in the last three columns, beginning with Neptune, will have to be increased $\frac{1}{183}$ part of their value. The time required for the passage of light from the sun to the earth is taken from Delaunay, (Op. Cit., p. 331.) Sir John Herschel puts it at 8 m. 13."5. ("Familiar Lectures on Scientific Subjects," p. 227.)

period of 2,100 years, and travels 229,000,000,000 of miles from the sun. The comet of 1811 has gone on a journey of 3,000 years; the comet of 1680 is expected to be absent 8,814 years; while the comet of July, 1844, is under pledge to report at the headquarters of our system after an absence of 100,000 years; During this journey it travels to the distance of 368,000,000,000 of miles from the sun, and yet throughout the utmost limits of their flight these mysterious wisps of luminous vapor acknowledge every hour their allegiance to the central authority of our system. There is not a moment when the gentle influence of our sun ceases to be felt. Across the silent and measureless void the subtle power of gravitation manifests its presence as distinctly as in the falling acorn in the forest.

These comets all move, of course, in elliptic orbits. A large majority of them possess a *direct motion*, and conform approximately to the plane of the ecliptic. These are circumstances which intimate an alliance with our system, as well as a subjection to the general laws of matter.*

But there are other comets which venture beyond the boundary line which separates the empire of our sun from some contiguous dominion. From time to time these unrecognized strangers plunge, unannounced, into the midst of our planetary system, hurry with excited haste to the neighborhood of our solar center, whirl round their perihelion, and dart forth again into the abyss of space, *never to return*. There can be little doubt that the non-periodic comets pass within the influence of other solar centers, around which they swing with similar haste, to dart off again to the neighborhood of other suns. These strange comets move, while within the limits of our system, in accordance with the same laws as the periodic comets, and their places can be similarly calculated from day to day, and from week to week; but as their paths are parabolic and hyperbolic curves, their very flight from the local government of our system is as much the subject of mathematical demonstration as is the return of comets moving in elliptic orbits. It cannot be doubted that if they visit other suns it is to acknowl-

* All comets moving in hyperbolic orbits also have a direct motion, and thus furnish other intimations of some connection between their history and that of the planetary bodies. Delaunay, however, (*Op. Cit.*, p. 644.) is of the opinion that all comets are either strangers, or only naturalized denizens in the solar system.

edge still their allegiance to the supreme force of gravitation, and to travel in paths which might become as strictly the subjects of computation as the paths described by them outside the limits of our system.*

Thus these wanderers range from sun to sun, from system to system, impelled ever by one force, regulated every-where by one government, weaving the visible universe into a compact web of indissoluble relationships.†

(3.) *Stellar Phenomena.* Still other intimations reach us. Viewed with the telescope, many of the fixed stars appear double. We know at least 6,000 of them. Not less than 650 of the double stars are demonstrated to be real systems, physically connected, revolving about a common center of gravity between them. The periods of their revolutions range from 14 to 1,200 years. The following are examples: A pair in Coma Berenices is thought to have a period as short as 14 years; Zeta Herculis revolves in 36 years; Sirius, in 49½; Zeta Cancri, in 59; Xi Ursæ Majoris, in 61; Mu Coronæ Borealis, in 66; Alpha Centauri, in 81; Pi Ophiuchi, in 92; Gamma Virginis, in 150; 61 Cygni, in 520; and Gamma Leonis is thought to have a period of 1,200 years.

These, also, are real orbital motions, manifested at such distances that even light, traveling 186,000 miles a second, would require years to reach us. Not only that; these orbits are also ellipses. Now there can be no orbital motion except under the action of centripetal and centrifugal forces: *gravity and inertia are there.* And since the velocity of rotation—to give a centrifugal force equal to the centripetal—must increase with the intensity of the centripetal, that is, the gravitating force, physicists have been enabled to calculate even the weight of distant suns revolving about their centers. Thus, we know that the mass of 61 Cygni is one third the mass of our own sun; and that Alpha Centauri is one tenth the sun's mass.

A remarkable illustration of the truth of that generalization which extends the laws of gravity to these depths in space has recently been furnished. Certain minute movements of Sirius,

* Watson: "A Popular Treatise on Comets," pp. 328, 358, 359, 361.

† "Toutes les parties de notre monde planétaire auraient donc une origine commune, et le système tout entier serait en communication avec les systèmes étrangers par l'intermédiaire des comètes et des météores."—Secchi: "Le Soleil," p. 383.

the brightest star in our heavens, led Bessel to suspect the existence of a small companion-star revolving about it, and exerting a perturbing influence. Such companion was afterward, in 1862, actually discovered by Mr. Alvan Clark, an American observer.

Not only do we find stars thus swinging about in couples, but, in other instances, we find them grouped in threes, fours, and even higher systems, all rotating about a common center. Thus, Theta Orionis, a star scarcely visible to the naked eye, in the celebrated nebula of Orion, resolves itself, under the telescope, into seven mutually connected suns.

Another stellar phenomenon of great interest, though not as yet démonstrably explained, is that of variable stars. Though numerous cases of irregular variability are known, we refer here to such stars as increase and decrease in brightness through regular periods, like the celebrated stars Mira in the whale and Algol in the head of Medusa.

Two explanations have hitherto been offered of such phenomena. Perhaps the periodical variations are due to the rotation of these bodies upon their axes, combined with unequal luminosity on different sides.* Perhaps they are caused by partial occultations by dark planetary bodies revolving about them. Both these explanations equally presume the existence of movements in the depths of space, which can only be regulated by the laws of central forces which hold such imperial sway within the limits of our own system.

More recently, variability has been attributed, by M. Faye† to the effects of different phases of refrigeration. Father Secchi,‡ and after him M. Stanislaus Meunier,§ connects variability with the phenomenon of "spots" so well known as marking the surface of our sun, and, by their regular increase and diminution through intervals of about ten years, imparting a variable character to the solar light. These physicists main-

* Zöllner, Stewart, Klinkerfues. This explanation requires *regularity* in the periodicity of the stars.

† Faye: "*Révue des Cours Scientifiques*," t. iii, p. 617.

‡ Secchi: "*Op. Cit.*," pp. 404-5.

§ Meunier: "*Op. Cit.*," p. 160.

tain that spots, periodicity and total disappearance of stars, are but different degrees of one phenomenon, and that they are caused by a diffusion or eruption of heated currents from the central non-luminous and more highly heated portion, through the photospheric, partially cooled envelope. The plausibility of this explanation rests on the truth of Secchi's theory (adopted and elaborated by Faye) of the gaseous and non-luminous condition of the solar nucleus. Should this explanation prove true, the phenomenon of variability still serves as a link of connection between our system and the remotest regions of space, since, by all admissions, our sun is a variable star.*

(4.) *Firmamental movements.* Nearly all the stars called "fixed" are in actual motion. They do not all move with uniform apparent velocity, nor in a uniform direction. These movements, moreover, are, to our eyes, extremely slow. To travel across a space in the heavens equal to the apparent diameter of the moon's disc, would require from 300 to 1,500 years and upward. Of course, nothing can be known of the actual velocity of these motions, except in the case of stars whose distances have been determined. The following are examples of these: Arcturus moves 54 miles a second; 61 Cygni, 40 miles; Capella, 30; Sirius, 14; Alpha Centauri, 13; Vega, 13; Polaris, $1\frac{1}{2}$. For purposes of comparison, we may state that the earth moves in her orbit with a mean velocity of nineteen miles a second; the other planets, with velocities varying from three to thirty miles a second; and the sun has a proper motion in space (as we shall presently explain) of about four miles a second.

Thus the stars called "fixed," and which are used as points of comparison for all our observations on the motions of the planets, are themselves in perpetual motion. In consequence of their unequal motions, certain stars will travel, in the course of time, out of the constellations with which astronomy has identified them for three thousand years.

Isolated and unconformable movements among the stars

* Proctor: "The Sun," pp. 197-9; Secchi: "Le Soleil," pp. 113-117; Chambers: "Desc. Astron.," pp. 14, 15; Loomis: "Sun Spots," etc., in "Amer. Jour. Sci.," [2.] vol. 1, p. 153, *et seq.* We are indebted to the patient observations of Schwabe of Dessau for this determination.

might not clearly appear referable to the same physical causes as we find acting within the limits of our system. Proctor,* however, has clearly shown that groups of stars are characterized by a common "drift." Not all the stars within a circumscribed space can be reasonably imagined to sustain a physical connection with each other, since many of those which, to our eyes, are most closely approximated, may be at enormously unequal distances. Such, however, as manifest a common motion, may fairly be regarded as moving under uniform conditions. Even this, however, does not demonstrate that those conditions are reproduced in the solar system; but the suggestion is probable.

Again, our own sun is one of the stars manifesting a proper motion. This motion is revealed by the slow opening of the ranks of the stars in one part of the heavens, and their gradual closing together in the opposite quarter. Such apparent motions of the stars remain, after making all allowance for their real motions. Thus our sun is traveling onward, with all his retinue of planets and satellites, toward a point in the constellation Hercules, and at a rate of 153,000,000 miles a year. Astronomers are of the opinion that this proper motion of the sun is directed in an orbit whose center is in the Pleiades, and whose circumference is so vast that 18,200,000 years are required for a single revolution.

This probable revolution of the solar system about a center within our firmament renders it probable that the proper motions of the other stars are also due to orbital movements about the same center. Thus we shall be led to contemplate the starry firmament with its 77,000,000 of suns, as an example of a solar system on a more stupendous scale.

There is still another order of stellar existences to which attention ought to be directed. More than five thousand nebulae have already been laid down on the map of the heavens. Their ordinary appearance is that of a faint luminous cloud spread on the dark background of the sky. Very many of these, subjected to the scrutiny of the telescope, resolve themselves into stars and "star-dust," or minute points of light. Others defy all power of resolution.

It seems quite certain that some of the nebulae lie within

* Proctor: "Other Worlds than Ours," pp. 277-281; "The Sun," pp. 428-9.

the limits of our firmament of stars. The tendency of some modern astronomers is to the opinion that all the nebulae are confined to distances no greater than the stars. Should this opinion become established, there are still some phenomena presented by the nebulae which seem to indicate central gravitation and rotary motion. While many are more or less irregular, others present a spherical (or at least a circular) form. Others are beautifully annular. Still others, as the nebula in Argo, present parabolic curves resembling the tails of comets; and others, finally, like the nebulae in Canes Venatici and Virgo, are strikingly spiral. All these forms are irresistibly suggestive of central forces and axial rotations.

But the common opinion of astronomers seems to be in accord with that of the Herschels, that probably very many of the nebulae are really other firmaments of stars wholly external to ours, and removed to distances proportionate to the vast interstellar spaces of our own firmament. Our firmament, according to the system of gauging the star-depths employed by Sir William Herschel, is circumscribed by a definite boundary, and presents somewhat the form of a grindstone cleft around a portion of its periphery. It is true that the telescope reveals a multitude of stars not seen by the unaided eye; and, as the power increases, star after star rises in the far-off horizon of our view, till it would seem that the number is infinite and boundless. But our firmament has its outer periphery. When the most powerful instruments are steadily turned toward even the most populous portion of the sky, the vision threads its cold and devious way from rank to rank of glittering suns, till, finally, it stands upon the outer ramparts of the firmament and looks out upon immensity. What solemn emotions fill the soul when it succeeds in traveling beyond the stars, and gazes through the loop-holes of the firmament upon the blackness and emptiness beyond!

But what of the realms of space beyond the boundaries of our star-system? Across that dark and pathless interval the telescope has led our vision, and lo! upon the remotest confines of the universe hangs a faint film of light, like the feeble glow of a watchman's lamp upon the shore of a cold and dark and trackless sea. In other quarters of the heavens are other patches of light, the counter existences of this. These are the

nebulæ; and such, according to current views of stellar astronomy,* are their relative positions and distances.

Should such views be finally confirmed, we shall discover still stronger analogies with the phenomena of the solar system, and stretching over intervals of space too vast for even the imagination to span.

There is good ground for doubting, however, whether mere clouds of luminous vapor, which most of the irresolvable nebulæ are supposed to be, would be visible to human eyes if really so far external to our firmament. Since some of the irresolvable nebulous matters have shown such a connection with stars as to demonstrate that they belong to our stellar system, it may be most reasonable to assume that all irresolvable nebulæ are thus associated. Accordingly only resolvable nebulæ would be regarded as external, while the irresolvable nebulæ would be only specimens of formative matter in various stages of differentiation. This view is sustained by the existence of so called nebulous stars and planetary nebulæ, in which the irresolvable nebulous matter presents itself condensed toward the center into a state of greater luminosity, which, in many examples, approaches or reaches the appearance of a veritable star or couple of stars.†

(5.) *Inferences from the movements of light.* Whether orbital and axial motions, and other evidences of the presence of gravity, be traced to the distances of the fixed stars and nebulæ or not, this proof of community of conditions certainly exists, that the flight of the luminous ray proclaims identical laws throughout the visible universe. Light is a phenomenon universally regarded as arising from inconceivably but measurably rapid vibrations of a subtile material fluid commonly known as ether.‡ Wherever light penetrates there is ether.

* Sir John Herschel: "Outlines of Astronomy," 4th ed., p. 537; "Treatise on Astronomy," Am. ed., 1851, chap. xii; "Familiar Lectures on Science," p. 215; Nichol: "Architecture of the Heavens," letter i; Guillemin: "The Heavens," p. 366. On the contrary, see Proctor: "Other Worlds than Ours," chap. xii; Rorison: "Replies to Essays and Reviews," pp. 270, 271; Whewell: "Plurality of Worlds," p. 142.

† For striking examples see the figures of Delaunay: "Op. Cit.," pp. 635, 636, 638.

‡ Aside from the necessity of some such medium for the propagation of light, and, as some of the latest speculations indicate, for the propagation of electricity also, the evidence for the existence of an ethereal fluid rests on slight disturbances

To the remotest star—to the remotest nebulae—this tenuous fluid fills immensity; and throughout the height and depth, the length and breadth of the empire of matter, this omnipresent element is quick with the tremors generated by millions of suns. Light flies 186,000 miles in a second of time. The solar beam falls to the earth in eight and one third minutes, and reaches the orbit of Neptune in four hours. The light of the nearest star has occupied three and a half years in reaching us, and that of the remotest star which shows a parallax, seventy years. The light from the most distant star which shed a discernible light in the great telescope of Sir William Herschel had left its source eight thousand years before. Eminent authorities entertain the belief that light from some of the distant nebulae must have occupied 700,000 years in reaching the earth.*

What a conception is here for the mind to dwell upon! What proof of the age of the material universe, and its extent! Yet the same ether, like an ocean bathing continents on its opposite shores, pulsates through the systems of earth, sun, Arcturus, Polaris, and vanishing nebulae. "It is LIGHT," says Sir John Herschel,† "*and the free communication of it from*

in the movements of certain comets of short period, especially Encke's. Mr. A. Hall ("Amer. Jour. Sci.," [3.] ii, p. 404) has recently raised a doubt in reference to the correctness of the explanation of the retardation of Encke's comet. Professor W. Stanley Jevons, also, in a late number of the London "Chemical News," attributes the retardation of the comet to electricity, and regards the hypothesis of a resisting medium as entirely imaginary. It is worthy of consideration, however, that the ethereal fluid, if it possess the properties of matter, must be increased in density and resisting power in the vicinity of great masses of matter, especially the sun; and that, hence, other things being equal, those comets having the shortest perihelion distances will experience the greatest effects. It is also worthy of remembrance that possibly the uniform motions of the planets about the sun may have imparted a vortical movement to the ether, which would accelerate or retard the motions of comets in accordance with their relation to the direction of the ethereal current. This would diminish its effect on all the comets of short period, since they all have direct motion. It must not be presumed, however, that this fluid is necessarily subject to the law of gravitation, and is possessed in every respect of the properties of ordinary matter. The nature of the ethereal medium, which the almost unanimous judgment of physicists holds to exist, is, at the present moment, the object of the profoundest researches and speculations. (Sir John Herschel: "Familiar Lectures on Scientific Subjects," lect. viii.; Mac Vicar: "A Sketch of a Philosophy," parts ii, iii.)

* Guillemin: "The Heavens," p. 366.

† Sir John Herschel: "Familiar Lectures," p. 218.

the remotest regions of the universe, which alone can give, and does fully give us, the assurance of a uniform and all-pervading energy—a mechanism almost beyond conception complex, minute, and powerful, by which that influence, or rather that movement, is propagated. Our evidence of the existence of gravitation fails us beyond the region of the double stars, or leaves us, at best, only a presumption, amounting to a moral conviction, in its favor. But the argument for a unity of design and action afforded by light stands unweakened by distance, and is co-extensive with the universe itself.”

(6.) *Revelations of the spectroscope.* The culminating proof of identical conditions throughout the physical universe has been furnished by the spectroscope. This little instrument, of recent invention, takes the slender ray of light admitted through a narrow slit, and subjects it to a peculiar scrutiny—a searching examination, which extorts from it the secret of its origin, and of the body which sent it forth, and of the medium through which it has traveled. We can offer but a few words of explanation of this mysterious process, referring to the works of Schellen, Roscoe, Huggins, Lockyer, Brewster, Angström, and others, for fuller information.

Every one knows that solar light passed through a prism of glass undergoes decomposition into its seven primary colors, which may be projected on the opposite wall. Under proper adjustments this colored spectrum may be seen crossed by numerous dark lines. Light proceeding from other luminous sources presents other phenomena. The results of extended experiments upon artificial lights have established the three following principles:

1. The spectrum of an incandescent solid or liquid is continuous, that is, it presents no lines across it.

2. The spectrum of a glowing vapor or gas is crossed by numerous bright lines, and each different vapor gives a different set of bright lines.

3. The spectrum of an incandescent solid or liquid shining through a vapor (dark or incandescent) of lower temperature than the source of the light is crossed by numerous dark lines, and these dark lines occupy the same positions as the bright lines proper to the spectrum of the vapor.

From the third law it appears that vapors transmitting light

from an incandescent solid or liquid, *absorb* exactly the same rays which they would themselves emit if incandescent. Light shining through the vapors of sodium presents a certain set of dark lines; but if the vapors of sodium are rendered incandescent, they produce a set of bright lines occupying exactly the places of the dark ones. This set of dark lines across any spectrum becomes, therefore, the evidence of the presence of sodium in the vapors through which the light passes.

Now, dark lines, as we said, cross the spectrum of the sun. This, first of all, proves that the light of the sun emanates from an incandescent solid or liquid, and passes through vapors of lower temperature in escaping to the earth. How sudden and unexpected a revelation of its constitution! *A liquid nucleus with an envelope of glowing clouds.**

But certain ones of these dark lines occupy exactly the positions of the bright lines of the spectrum of sodium. The vapor of sodium is therefore present in the gaseous envelope of the sun! Sodium is one of our most common substances. It is the basis of common salt consumed at every human meal. It gives the saltiness to the waters of the universal ocean. This most familiar element enters largely into the constitution of the sun.

But another set of the dark lines of the solar spectrum corresponds to the bright lines of the spectrum of hydrogen. Now hydrogen is one of the two constituents of all the water which belongs to our planet. It is also a constituent of coal, of petroleum, and of all vegetable and animal substances. This familiar element abounds also in the sun!

Nor is this all. Physicists have studied these magical lines of the solar spectrum until they have detected the existence of sundry other substances in the constitution of the sun. We find there not only sodium and hydrogen, but iron, magnesium, barium, copper, zinc, calcium, chromium, nickel, and prob-

* Father Secchi does not regard the liquid nucleus fully proven. The dark spectral lines would result if the photosphere of the sun were in such a state of condensation as to present an analogy to *mist*, and thus shine as a liquid; while the absorbent medium might be a non-luminous atmosphere external to the photosphere. Thus the central portion of the sun might be a non-luminous gas, (Secchi: "Op. Cit.," pp. 104-6.) Though this theory is adopted by M. Faye, ("Comptes rendus," 16 and 23 Jan., 1865; 27 July, 1868, tom. lxxviii, 197,) we feel constrained to regard the doctrine of a molten nucleus the most plausible.

ably, also, cobalt, strontium, cadmium, and potassium. These include nearly all our common elements. Iron is disseminated through all the rocks, and, in places, is accumulated in mountain masses. Calcium is the basis of chalk and all limestones, and enters into the constitution of a large proportion of the other rocks. Magnesium, under the guise of dolomite, constitutes extensive geological formations, and enters, besides, as a common constituent, into other minerals and rock-masses. Verily, it would seem that earth and sun have been molded out of the same lump of material. Were earth a daughter of the sun, she could not more completely have inherited the traits of her mother.

With what breathless interest were the questionings of this little instrument addressed to the stars! And how satisfactorily did they respond! *Dark* lines cross their spectra as in that of the sun. They are, then, *other suns*; they shine by their own light; their luminous spheres are enveloped in vapors, whose light-vibrations are attuned in unison with those excited by the spheres themselves.

But what are the substances whose interferences silence certain of these starry rays? Are they known, or are they stranger elements? How sublimely instructive the response, as we see it handed down from Aldebaran and Betelgeuse and Sirius. Sodium is also there, and magnesium and iron and calcium. Yes, one kind of matter forms the substance of the solar system and the starry firmament. The dust of our streets is ignited to starry suns in Arcturus and the Pleiades.

There is one step further. Will the nebulae respond to our interrogatories? We do not mean the revolvable nebulae for these, of course, will give us star-light;* but what of the cloudy nebulae which stubbornly refuse to be resolved? They have sent down their response; the lines of their spectra are

*There are, indeed, resolvable nebulae which give us bright-line spectra. Their separate stars are therefore merely segregated patches of the luminous vapor, which in many cases appears more continuous in the regions more removed from the center. These phenomena are full of suggestions bearing upon theories of stellar genesis.

It may be as well to add that not a few celestial objects afford us a continuous spectrum—having neither bright nor dark lines. This is true of several dense star-clusters, as well as of a number of resolvable nebulae. The continuous spectrum may indicate that these bodies are incandescent solids or liquids, or

bright instead of dark! They are luminous vapors. How promptly and how eagerly they testify. How long have they waited for this opportunity to reveal the vastness of the ONE CREATOR'S empire! These cloudy nebulae are not, then, other firmaments of stars, but starry material to be wrought hereafter into firmaments.

But what of the substance of these vapors? We confess that here are phenomena which, for the present, puzzle us. The analysis of the thin light of a nebula is a most difficult task, and we are but just beginning to succeed. Still, in these revelations are two words, and perhaps three, which we recognize. In the (planetary) nebula of Draco are bright lines, which correspond to nitrogen and hydrogen, and one which comes very near to barium.

It should be remarked, in conclusion, that the failure to identify any terrestrial substance in a celestial body is not conclusive proof against its existence; since, in the case of luminous bodies enveloped in luminous vapors, the luminosity of the vapor may be such that its emissive property exactly neutralizes its absorbent property, so that the spectrum shows neither the dark lines nor the bright lines characteristic of the vapor.

For the purpose of furnishing a convenient conspectus of the results attained from the spectroscopic analysis of a large range of luminous objects, we append to this article a table compiled from the leading authorities.

Such are the principal facts which the most recent studies in cosmical physics have revealed respecting the unity of the material universe. We cannot fail to be impressed by the validity of the conclusion, and the importance of the lesson which it teaches respecting the unity of that intelligence and power and personality of whose will all these phenomena are the objective expression and interpretation.

The phenomena which we have surveyed and reasoned about are all facts of co-existence. There is a co-ordinate view of unity in nature which presents *facts in an order of succession*, contemplating every phenomenon as a stage in a single devel-

else, that having gaseous envelopes like the ordinary stars, these envelopes are in just that state of luminosity and tension which renders their emissive power equal to their absorbent. Such a state of vaporous luminosity would, therefore, exceed that of our sun. (Compare Proctor: "Other Worlds than Ours," pp. 289-292.)

opmental line stretching backward and onward toward eternity. Such a survey is adapted to leave upon the mind an impression of the unity of the controlling Intelligence through boundless *time*, as vivid as the glimpse we have taken is fitted to impress respecting the unity of that Intelligence in boundless *space*. That survey, which is complementary to the present one, and which brings us into the presence of the question of cosmical evolutions, must be deferred to another occasion.

TABLE OF ELEMENTS RECOGNIZED IN THE HEAVENLY BODIES.

| ELEMENTS. | DARK-LINE SPECTRA. | | | | | | | Dark & Bright line. | BRIGHT-LINE SPECTRA. | | | |
|--------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------|-------|--|--------|--|-----------------------|--|-------------------------------|------------------------|--|------------------------------|
| | Sun ¹ | White Stars. Secchi's first type. | | Yellow Stars. Secchi's second type. | | Variable Stars Secchi's third type. | | Red ² Stars, Secchi's fourth type. | Nebula in Draco. ⁴ | Envelope of Eta Argus. | Wincke's ⁵ and Encke's ⁶ Comets. | Shooting Stars. ⁷ |
| | | Sirius. | Vega. | Aldebaran. | Pollux | Betelgeuse. | ³ Pegasus. | | | | | |
| Sodium ... | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | | | | * |
| Iron | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | | | | |
| Hydrogen . | * | * | | * | | | | | * | * | | |
| Magnesium | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | | | | |
| Barium ... | * | | | | | | ? | | ? | | | |
| Copper ... | * | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Zinc | * | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Calcium ... | * | | | * | | * | | | | | | |
| Chromium . | * | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Nickel | * | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cobalt | * | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Strontium . | ? | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Aluminium. | ? ² | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cadmium .. | ? | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Silicon | ? ² | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Potassium . | ? | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bismuth .. | | | | * | | * | | | | | | |
| Tellurium . | | | | * | | | | | | | | |
| Antimony . | | | | * | | | | | | | | |
| Mercury .. | | | | * | | | | | | | | |
| Nitrogen ... | | | | | | | | | * | | * | |
| Carbon ... | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Titanium .. | * | | | | | ? | | | | | | |
| Thallium .. | | | | | | | | | | | | |

¹ The *chromosphere* of the sun contains sodium, hydrogen, magnesium, and barium.

² Secchi: "Le Soleil."

³ Secchi: "Le Soleil."

⁴ Huggins: "Spectral Analysis of the Heavenly Bodies."

⁵ Huggins: Phil. Trans., 1868. See also "Comte's rendus," lxxvi, pp. 1299 and 1886.

⁶ Young: "Amer. Jour. Sci.," [3] iii, p. 80.

⁷ Alexander Herschel.

ART II.—CHRISTIAN PURITY.

The Nature and Blessedness of Christian Purity. By Rev. R. S. FOSTER. New York. 1851.

Christian Purity; or, The Heritage of Faith. Revised, Enlarged, and Adapted to Later Phases of the Subject. By Rev. R. S. FOSTER, D.D., LL.D. New York. 1869.

MAX MULLER, in his lectures on the "Science of Religion," has well said that "the intention of religion, wherever we meet it, is always holy. However imperfect, however childish a religion may be, it always places the human soul in the presence of God; and however imperfect or childish the conception of God may be, it always represents the highest ideal of perfection which the human soul for the time being can reach and grasp. It lifts the soul above the level of ordinary goodness, and produces at least a yearning after a higher and better life—a life in the sight of God." In like manner we conceive that the means which all religions employ are designed to secure the end which they contemplate, and to bring the soul into the possession of that for which it yearns. Hence, the erection of temples, the institution of priesthoods, the offering of sacrifices, as well as all the pilgrimages, ablutions, fastings, penances, mortifications, and prayers which they have enjoined, were for the purpose of enabling the soul to realize its own ideal of goodness and purity. It cannot be doubted that the consciousness of sin and guilt has burdened human hearts in all ages and in all climes. During all the centuries a bondaged world has been groaning for deliverance—crying out in its agony or despair, in one form or another, "What must we do to be saved?" Nor can we fail to notice that all these systems of religion, following only the light of nature, or the crude traditions which they have embodied, whatever the means which they have employed, whatever their intention may have been, have left the nations in disquiet and unrest, failing utterly to "make the comers thereunto perfect." The stream will not rise higher than the fountain; and no human soul will ever rise above the level of the god which it worships, or the ideal of the system of religion which it embraces. Hence, the history of the world demonstrates clearly that the various systems of heathenism

have only tended either to bestialize, to enslave, or to corrupt the nations.

It is right here, we claim, that the religion of the Bible infinitely transcends all other systems of religion. It presents before the mind a Being, not only of infinite wisdom and of boundless power, but one who is also possessed of absolute holiness and purity. It presents him as the model, after which all his intelligent creatures may be transformed. It makes us to hear his voice, speaking to us, and saying, "Be ye holy; for I, the Lord your God, am holy." And not only so: it reveals to us the vast remedial provisions which he has made for us in our lapsed and fallen condition, and gives utterance to the richest promises and assurances of both his ability and willingness to make us all that he requires us to be. It is these great truths which the volumes before us attempt to illustrate and enforce. About twenty years ago, the author gave his first volume on *Christian Purity* to the Church. What he then wrote, as he says in his preface to his revised and enlarged work on the same subject, was "under the inspiration, and conducted during the evolution, of an exalted experience, and amid the glow of intense zeal. The present writing," he says, "is the fruit of calm study, and mature and deliberate judgment." By a careful comparison of the two volumes, we are satisfied that the author's estimate of his work is correct and fair. At the same time, we cannot help feeling that if the "exalted experience" and "the intense zeal" under whose inspiration the first volume was written could have been combined with the "calm study and deliberate judgment" of his riper years and experience, it would have added greatly to the freshness and interest of the later volume. Yet it must be admitted that the present edition is a great improvement on the first, not only in its style, but, also, in the greater clearness and exactness of its statements, the completeness of its arguments, and the power of its appeals.

As might be supposed from the author's relations to the Church, and from his deep and often-expressed convictions, he writes from the purely Wesleyan stand-point—giving in every chapter great prominence to Mr. Wesley's teachings, and conforming his own utterances to them.

When we come to consider this question, to seek for light to

guide us to its proper solution, several important inquiries crowd upon our mind. We want to know, first, what the author means by Christian Purity; and then, as to whether it is possible to enjoy such a state or experience; and if so, whether it is not our duty to enjoy it at once, without any further delay; what is the way by which it may be enjoyed, whether by gradual processes, or by an instantaneous work wrought in us, following some crisis in our experience; and whether, when it is wrought, the soul is conscious of it, and may speak of it without hesitation or doubt. We find that all these, and kindred questions, are treated in these volumes with great clearness and forcefulness, and with that Christian candor and charity for which the author is distinguished. However the reader may differ from him on various points, he must admit that while he presses his argument with great force, and with all the strength of his vigorous intellect, he never so far forgets himself as to condescend to bitterness of spirit, or to the petty narrowness of partisan bigotry. These points must now pass somewhat rapidly in review before us.

What, then, does the author mean by Christian Purity? To give us, as he says, "the utmost explicitness" of definition, he disclaims several ideas which have been associated by some with this state. He does not include in it "infallibility of the intellectual processes or faculties;" nor "physical perfection;" nor "freedom from mistakes, or temptations to sin, and suggestions of evil;" nor "impeccability, or exemption from liability to sin, or freedom from sorrow;" nor "perfection of degree, or attainment beyond which there is no progress." But he does include in it: (1.) "A state in which the Christian is *entirely free from sin*, properly so called, both inward and outward; a state in which he will do no act involving guilt, in which he will possess no unholy temper, in which the entire outward man of the life, and the entire inward man of the heart, will be pure in the sight of God."—P. 72. (2.) "But, additionally, we include in our idea of entire holiness more than mere freedom from sin in the foregoing sense. That is merely a negative view; it has a positive character. We believe it to include, besides this, the spiritual graces, as love, meekness, humility, and such like, in perfection—perfection not of measure, but of kind. That these graces exist in the entirely

sanctified soul without alloy, without mixture, *in simplicity.*" —P. 76.

Thus we see that it is not claimed for any one that he has reached, or that he can reach, "angelical perfection," or "Adamic perfection;" but that a human, fallen, sinful being may be so saved, renewed, and sanctified as to be free from not only the condemnation and power of sin, but from its defilement and impurity; while those involuntary mental and physical conditions which arise from his lapsed and fallen state may still remain without invalidating or negating the entire holiness of his heart and life. The various theories which have been held by different persons and at different periods are noticed by our author, but not for the purpose of combating them. He prefers rather to formulate the doctrine as held by the Methodist Church, and to proceed directly to its defense; knowing well that if this is substantiated, all other theories must fall to the ground. The position, then, which he assumes, and which he proceeds to defend, is as follows:

That entire sanctification and regeneration are not identical; that regeneration is sanctification begun; that entire sanctification may be an immediate or instantaneous work, and is almost, if not always, a distinct one, to be attained by the agency of the Holy Spirit, through faith, at any time when the requisite faith is exercised, and once so attained is an experience to be enjoyed during life.

This, he proceeds to say, "in our deepest conviction contains the truth—*nothing but the truth*—THE ENTIRE TRUTH."

Throughout the entire discussion of this question Dr. (now Bishop) Foster uses the words holiness, purity, entire sanctification, perfection, and perfect love interchangeably, and as meaning the same thing when applied to this state. The use of the word "perfection" we may say, however, has given rise to much misapprehension and prejudice because of its ambiguity in our language. In its original use it signifies wholeness, completeness, adulthood. But in its ordinary use it signifies the possession of every excellence without frailty or fault. Hence, when any one speaks of perfection as attainable in this life, the minds of multitudes are shocked at the idea, and revolt from it as the height of fanaticism or folly. When the Old Testament speaks of Noah, Abraham, and others as perfect men, its undoubted meaning is that they were upright, sincere men, men of integ-

urity. In the New Testament the word evidently signifies *adulthood*, and refers to one who has attained "unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ." Such a one is a perfect *man*; that is, he has all the elements of spiritual manhood developed. He has outgrown the childhood and the young manhood of his experience, and come into a full-grown, vigorous, and complete manhood. We think that, understood in this sense, the word is divested of its ambiguity and repulsiveness, and the true idea which its use is intended to convey is seen to be in harmony with the teachings of the word of God and with the facts of Christian experience. But as the use of the word in an unmodified and unexplained sense is liable to do more harm to this question than good, we think that great care should be exercised in employing it in the discussion of this state. The other words referred to, especially when qualified by the word "entire," have a more fixed and definite meaning assigned to them, and are more readily and clearly understood. In addition to these the words, "higher life," "rest of faith," "full assurance of faith," and "full salvation," have generally come to be understood as signifying the same thing as the words holiness, purity, etc. Very much depends, in the use of these words, on the previous training of the persons employing them, and the peculiar phase of the religious experience which they enjoy. All these forms of expression are either directly, or substantially, employed by the inspired writers as indicative of this blessed experience, and none of them should be slighted or ignored. Many, doubtless, as President Edwards, Payson, and others, have enjoyed this rich experience who have never made use of any of the forms of expression referred to in the relation of their experience; but we can clearly gather from the language which they do employ, that they had entered into this Canaan-land and were feasting upon its rich and luscious fruits. The largest Christian charity should, we conceive, be exercised by those who write upon or speak of this experience, and especially by those who testify to its personal enjoyment.

We are now brought face to face with this inquiry, Is this state, or experience, to be attained and enjoyed in this life? This is *the* great question in this whole discussion. For if it *can* be, it *should* be; no excuse, then, of whatever kind, will avail for "neglect of this great salvation." If it cannot be, it is

useless to discuss the question further ; we must wait until " mortality is swallowed up of life." Dr. Foster most clearly shows the distinction between regeneration and entire sanctification. The only wonder to our mind is, that there should ever have been any question on this point. The whole New Testament so clearly marks this distinction ; the creeds of all evangelical Churches so fully express it, and the experience of the Christian world so abundantly demonstrates it, that any theory which would state their identity must be regarded as sentimental or fanciful. There are, therefore, only two prominent opinions in the Christian world on the question of the attainableness of the state of entire holiness. The one is, that it can be attained only at death ; the other, that it may be enjoyed while the soul is still in union with the body, and amid all the temptations, afflictions, and activities of life. That it must be obtained *some time* and *some where*, all evangelical Christians agree in affirming. It is the latter opinion, referred to above, that our author most ably and eloquently argues and maintains. He shows most clearly that a holy God has commanded it ; that we are exhorted to its enjoyment by holy and inspired men ; that it is promised with the utmost clearness, and on almost every page of the Word of the Lord ; that men who have prayed " in the Holy Ghost " have asked for its bestowment upon themselves and others, and that many of the Old and New Testament saints have enjoyed this grace. And he argues most logically and convincingly that, if God has commanded it, its attainment is possible, or else he is unjust ; if God has promised it upon the performance of practicable conditions, then, when those conditions are complied with, the fulfillment of the promise will be realized or God is false ; if holy men, under the inspiration of the Spirit, have prayed for it, then they believed it attainable, or, if not, they were guilty of mockery ; and if they were not inspired by the Holy Ghost, then so much of the inspiration of the Scriptures is denied ; or else they were led by the Spirit to ask for what it was before known by him that no man could receive. And, furthermore, if we are exhorted to this duty by inspired men, then it is practicable or, if not, we are exhorted to make efforts to do or to be that which it is neither practicable for us to do or to be. Further, if Christ died to make provision for our entire purity, or holiness,

then his provision is adequate for this work or it is not; his blood can cleanse from all sin or it cannot. It follows, then, that if the provision is inadequate the atonement is a failure; if the blood of Christ cannot cleanse from all sin, then the remedy is insufficient. Such are the alternatives involved in the affirmation or denial of the attainableness of this state in *this life*. For all these commands, and provisions, and promises, and prayers, are for the present time and the present life.

There can be no doubt that some of the old pagan philosophy has, almost unconsciously, crept into the dogmatic theology of some of our creeds, by which sin is located solely in the flesh, and all evil is attributed to matter. If this were true, then the work of death might, in some sense, add to the means provided for the destruction of sin. But sin has its seat in the soul; and the fact that the soul is united to a body which labors under the involuntary effects of the fall, and which suffers, as a consequence, pain, sickness, and death, does not make it necessary for sin to remain in the soul until that connection is dissolved by death. If it did, then death is to be regarded as a factor in the work of our complete sanctification. But we all know that death is only a physical change, not affecting the character of the soul, but only changing its mode of existence. If it is the blood of Christ which is to effect this moral purity, that blood can cleanse the soul as well now as at any period in the endless cycles of the future. If it is the power of the Holy Ghost which is to sanctify the believer wholly, he can just as readily and effectively employ, or exert, that power now as at any time in the future. The Word of God recognizes no other agencies in this work than the blood of Christ and the power of the Holy Ghost. These agencies are regarded and announced as all-sufficient, and if they could fail, the whole Christian system would fail with them. We are aware that a certain school of divinity, in order to make this state of holiness more readily and easily attainable, has declared that the law of God has yielded its claims, and lowered itself to meet our actual condition. But whatever motive may have prompted the dogma, it has no foundation in the Word of God. We nowhere learn that the law of God relaxes its claims upon us, or that it makes any allowance for our lapsed condition. This is not the province of law. By it is simply the knowledge of sin. But

what the provision of infinite love is designed for is, to lift fallen man up to the required conditions of the law; and where, through involuntary weakness or infirmity, he fails to meet its requirements, to supplement his lack and cover his defects, so that in Christ he may stand complete. After a careful consideration of the objections which have been made against the present attainableness of this state, the author concludes the chapter devoted to them as follows:

Reflect: Cannot you by the grace of God live one minute without sin? If a minute, can you not an hour? If an hour, a day? If a day, a year? You overlook the power of the grace of God. We are weak, and cannot too much distress ourselves; but "through Christ strengthening us" we are "able to do all things." Shall we limit "the Holy One of Israel?" Shall we plead in extenuation of our sins, our weakness, our inability, when Christ stands ready, waiting to enter the list for us? O! but you say, My difficulty is not to *live* without sin, so much as it is to *be* without sin. If I could once be set on my feet I might go, but I cannot get on my feet. "O wretched man that I am!" Have you ever heard of one whose name is Jesus? You may not be able to raise yourself, but have you tried him? Cannot he save? His name is Jesus—*Saviour*. Surely he has power, power now, power to save even you and me, and every man that will come to him; power "to save unto the uttermost."—Pp. 177, 178.

Now, then, this question of its attainableness being settled, it follows that it is the *duty* of every Christian to employ the means required to attain this state at once, and not to delay an instant in answering to the divine call and in measuring up to the divine requirement. If the mind, when convinced of its privilege, does not yield itself up to its convictions and proceed at once to secure that which is so freely provided and proffered; then it will stand condemned before the bar of its own conscience; that condemnation will be immediately announced in its consciousness, and the results will sooner or later exhibit themselves. A mist of prejudice, or a doubt, or unbelief will, ere long, veil this question before the soul; then, if there is continued indifference and neglect, that mist will increase to darkness, when he who doubted will deny, will scorn the doctrine, and sneer at those who bear their testimony to the experience of this grace; and in some instances it has doubtless been true—and it may be so again—that thus shunning the light of truth, and grieving the Spirit of God, some sad moral

catastrophe has occurred in the history of the mistaken one, until from the wreck and ruin of his character and hopes he has been led to cry for mercy on his soul. For if "the light" of truth, of the Spirit, "which is in you become darkness, *how great is that darkness!*" In the first chapter of his book the author declares that,

Present possibility of holiness determines present duty of holiness. This is a form of good which, to the utmost extent possible, is obligatory. If we may forego other forms of good without guilt, we may not neglect this without fault.—P. 21.

Still more strongly he says in his appendix, in speaking of the retention of sin in the soul of the justified believer :

Is he guilty? To a greater or less extent, Yes. He is kept constantly repenting, and ever needing pardon. His want is to have such an inflow of power as will restore God to his undisputed throne, and so will enable him to possess and preserve moral wholeness. It is his privilege to have this, and until he do, there is so far forth sin remaining in him. The sin may be in his want of strength, or in his act or want of action, as the guilty cause by which his weakness remains. The weakness is sin only as tending to sin; its retention is sin, as implying voluntary neglect to embrace proffered strength. Properly speaking, original depravity is not sin, but native tendency to sin. Its continued existence implies personal sin, forasmuch as grace is offered for its cure; and if cure be wanting, therefore it must be so because of personal neglect or malfeasance. *Any remaining depravity, therefore, is at the same time sin and the proof of sin, inasmuch as entire sanctification is proffered for its removal, and he voluntarily remains under its guilty sway.*—Pp. 326, 327.

The italics in this last sentence are our own. We have made them to call attention to the somewhat new and startling form of putting this question. We are well convinced that this scriptural and logical deduction has not been dwelt upon sufficiently by the advocates of this great doctrine, and that in its future presentation it should be more carefully and earnestly urged upon the attention of the Church. If it is admitted that it is the *privilege* of the Christian to be entirely holy, then the conclusion follows, irresistibly, *that it is his duty to be holy*. And it follows, further, that if he voluntarily neglects or refuses to avail himself of this privilege he is, just so far as he does so, responsible for his neglect or refusal.

By those who believe it to be both their privilege and duty

to attain or enjoy this state of entire holiness, two opinions are held as to the way of its attainment. The one class hold that it is a gradual work, going on from stage to stage, until finally all sin is excluded, and all the graces of the Spirit are matured and perfected; the other, that by a strong exercise of faith the soul may immediately enter into this state, be cleansed from all sin, and be wholly sanctified to God. Both of these opinions are based upon the fact of an actually existing state of justification and regeneration in the soul of the one who is seeking to enjoy entire sanctification. There can be no movement of the soul toward entire holiness until these great changes are wrought. We say these *great changes*, the one relative, the other real; for no tongue can tell, or language describe, the greatness of the work which has already been wrought for and in the true believer. No undervaluation of either of these changes will ever tend to advance the cause of entire holiness. To our own mind it seems that, when the sinner is justified and regenerated, the most difficult part of the work of his salvation has already been performed. The whole foundation has now been laid on the immutable rock of the sacrificial sufferings and death of Christ; while the throbbings of a new life, implanted by the Holy Ghost, are experienced in every part and power of the soul, and a divine strength is imparted, not only to overcome sin, but, also, to "build the gold and silver and precious stones" of a Christian character and life. But this experience, great and glorious as it is, is not entire holiness. Indeed, the mind of the sinner, when awakened by the Spirit of God to the consciousness of its sins, does not rise to the conception of, or desire for, entire holiness. The felt want experienced by him is that of forgiveness, of deliverance from the wrath of God, of a new heart. Hence his prayer is for these blessings, and his faith grasps them only. It follows that, according to his faith, so it is done unto him. He is justified, he is regenerated, and the sense of the divine displeasure is removed. It is right at this point where multitudes of Christians make a fearful, if not a fatal, mistake. They regard the work which has already been done for them as a terminal point, which they are to endeavor to hold, but beyond which no further progress is to be made. And some have taught that even this joyous experience cannot be maintained, but

that there must be a relapse into darkness, and doubts, and sin. As a consequence of this mistake, many never advance beyond that first experience of the grace of God; while many more speedily relapse into sin, and are brought under its condemnation and power. It is to be feared that, in consequence of defective teaching, or for the want of a proper conception of privilege or duty, multitudes in our evangelical Churches have no clear evidence of their justification before God. And it is this fact, more than any other, which causes so little struggle, or even desire, after entire holiness. There can be no doubt that, when the work of the divine Spirit has begun in the soul, it must go forward or decline and die. There is no stationary point in that work, no position which can be gained and held without either advancement or retrogradation.

But while these things are true of so large a portion of those professing to be Christians, there are others—and their number is too small—who go steadily forward from the moment of their conversion, “growing in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.” And it is this class of persons who, more frequently than any others, feel the need of entire holiness, and make earnest efforts for its enjoyment. It must be admitted here that all such growth in grace is *growth toward holiness*. Every elevation which is gained, however slight it may be, brings the soul nearer to God and holiness. More than this: the Holy Spirit discovers to that soul more fully its remaining corruptions, and its consequent need of entire purity. Sooner or later this discovery will be made. The tendencies to evil and sin, the elements existing in the soul, antagonizing the new life and struggling for the mastery, will show themselves, and give rise to disquiet, dissatisfaction, and, sometimes, to doubt as to whether or not the work of conversion has been wrought. But the young Christian should be taught that the mere *existence* of these elements in his soul will not condemn him while they are kept in subjection, and that it is only when they are allowed to *triumph* over it that they bring it under the bondage of guilt and condemnation.

Our author thus clearly presents this state of the case :

But at length a new occasion for disquiet arises. The purified spiritual vision discovers a great depth of iniquity within, and the quickened and tender conscience is convicted and pained by deep

inwrought pollution. Hence arises a godly sorrow, not as of condemnation and dread of God's wrath, but of self-aborrence in view of the infinite purity of the divine nature.—P. 96.

Again :

The old rebel and usurping propensities are not cured ; they are only chained. They are still alive and make war ; they clamor, and sometimes, in moments of weakness, prevail. The new order is preserved by struggle.—P. 127.

While the Word of God clearly declares that many Christians are "yet carnal," and so are not "sanctified wholly," it is always difficult to define precisely what is that sin which remains in the soul after its justification and regeneration. While acknowledging the difficulties with which this question is environed, Dr. Foster grapples with them manfully, and endeavors to solve them satisfactorily. "Sin is *ἀνομία*," lawlessness. And this signifies that it may consist in the positive and willful violation of the law, or in the want of conformity to, or harmony with, the law. In the one instance it involves guilt and condemnation and eternal death ; in the other it may exist without either guilt, or condemnation, or liability to eternal death. Now when one is justified by faith, all his willful violations of the law of God are freely and fully forgiven, and with that forgiveness the sense of guilt and condemnation is removed. "There is no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus." But, while in the act of regeneration, which immediately follows that of justification, there is the implantation of a new life, there is not the removal of the depravity of the nature, of the tendency, the proneness to sin. On this question our author says :

Now if we understand the theology and philosophy of the subject, two distinct wants grow out of the terrible effects of sin. One is the need of pardon, the other is the need of healing or cure ; and though they *may* be supplied simultaneously, as they are distinct they need not necessarily be. The relief of the one may be perfect at once, that of the other may be gradual or in stages. Not only may there be this difference, but there certainly is. Moreover, the wants themselves differ in kind : one excludes from God as of ill-desert, the other disqualifies for God, as of incapacity.—P. 122.

A recent writer on this subject says :

But in all the great and glorious things which are done in justification and regeneration, not a single inbred sinful tendency is

removed from the essence (?) of the soul. Every such tendency remains in the nature or essence of the soul after the great work of regeneration has been wrought. Name all the inbred sins catalogued by divines, or by inspiration, or by consciousness, and the consciousness of each reader will tell him that not one of these has been removed in regeneration. Do not pride, unbelief, aversion to holy duties, irreverence, envy, jealousy, anger, ambition, impatience, love of the world, selfishness, and an unwillingness to make sacrifices for the welfare of others, besides other forms of sin, all, without exception, remain in the soul after regeneration?*

Now we hold that it is the complete removal of these "inbred sinful tendencies from the essence of the soul" which constitutes entire sanctification.†

The question now returns, Are these heart evils to be eradicated by gradual processes, or may they be entirely and instantaneously removed? No clearer answer, perhaps, was ever returned to this inquiry than that which was given by Mr. Wesley, and quoted by our author with favor:

A man may be dying for some time, yet he does not, properly speaking, die till the instant the soul is separated from the body; and in that instant he lives the life of eternity. In like manner, he may be dying to sin for some time; yet he is not dead to sin till sin is separated from his soul, and in that instant he lives the full life of love.

Some persons do more rapidly and uniformly grow in grace than others, and their experience the sooner effloresces and ripens into perfect purity, albeit the soul may be scarcely conscious of the time when the work is accomplished—just as the morning star melts into the light of heaven, or aurora brightens into the bursting glories of the day. And it seems to us that the early and easy entrance of the soul into perfect purity will be more frequent in the future as this great truth is more clearly taught and more widely known. But, up to this period in the history of the Church, in most instances where this experience has been clearly realized it has been in some great crisis in the history of the believer. Sometimes it has been right in the midst of the ordinary routine of duty and experience, when the soul has been convinced of the desirableness and necessity of this great work, and without hesitancy or delay to "confer with flesh and blood," the consecration has been

* "Light on the Pathway of Holiness," by L. D. McCabe, D.D., pp. 36, 37.

† How then would apostasy be possible without another change in the essence or substance of the soul.—Ed.

made, the sprinkling blood has been applied, and the baptismal fires of the Holy Ghost have sealed the covenant. In other instances, months and years of struggle have intervened between the period of regeneration and that of entire sanctification. Then, again, "the hungry, longing, earnest soul, in the general attitude of trust, has been surprised by the sudden unction of the Holy One." *

All this is readily admitted. But then it is clear from the Word of God and undoubted testimony of thousands of Christians that this work may be wrought *instantaneously*—NOW. And if it may be, then it is our duty and our privilege to seek to have it done now. Thus eloquently does Dr. Foster write on this point:

That the earliest possible attainment of the end is most desirable—is *duty*—we must believe. Three months were sufficient to bring Israel from Egypt into the promised Canaan. They were forty years on their journey. It was their sin that they were so many times sick, and weary, and foot-sore, and heart-sore, when they might have been over the Jordan, feasting on the grapes of Eshcol and the choicest fruits of Engedi; and, more yet, when they might have been driving out of their heritage the enemies of the Lord.—Pp. 188, 189.

Again :

Entire holiness, not at death, not at the end of a long journey, not by slow growth, however possible it may be, and even certain; but entire holiness now, the privilege and duty of all believers, we must hold is the doctrine of God, and the doctrine which needs most to be urged upon the Church which is his bride.—P. 190.

The laws of growth in the natural world, which are referred to by the inspired writers, have been pressed by the advocates of the gradualistic theory to a meaning which does not legitimately belong to them. These laws are regular and fixed, and are so uniform that we can calculate with some degree of certainty when "the blade, the ear, and the full corn in the ear" will make their appearance. Not so with the laws of spiritual growth and development. These appear under a vast variety of forms, and have no fixed periods when we may calculate upon their completion. Some are always "laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works and of faith toward

* Dr. Steele in "Zion's Herald."

God ;" others, again, who when for the time that they ought to be teachers, have need to be taught the first principles of the oracles of God, and have need of milk and not of strong meat. (Heb. v, 12.) Surely if the corn grew as slowly as many Christians do, starvation would stare the world in the face; and if children matured as slowly as some of the children in the Church, we should have a race of dwarfs and pigmies. And as the figure will not apply to all the processes of spiritual growth, much less will it apply to the fullness and endlessness of that growth. In nature, and in man's physical system, the blade comes to the full ear, and the child to a full manhood, and when these conditions are reached there is no further growth or development; but in the divine life, the perfection of grace in kind, and the attainment to spiritual manhood, are only the favored conditions for the soul's future and endless advancement in holiness, in love, and in joy.

In our further investigations of this subject we come to consider the means which we are to make use of in order to come to the enjoyment of this purity. God has but one ordained, unalterable, and essential condition affixed to his provisions and proffers, and that is *faith*. We are aware that this always presupposes and includes some previous conditions, or states, of mind which are essential to its existence and exercise. For instance, no man will believe in Christ for pardon and salvation unless he is first conscious of his sins and of his need of Christ, and is convinced of both his ability and willingness to save him. And so no man will believe in Christ for full salvation unless he feels his need of it, and is satisfied of the possibility of its enjoyment. If any one, therefore, would experience entire purity, there are several preliminary steps necessary before the crowning act of faith is exercised. There must be a conscious need of it; it must be definitely and specifically sought; there must be a full, complete, and everlasting consecration of our all to God, and a determination that, through grace, we *will* be holy. These steps having been taken, the soul is duly prepared to believe, and the act of faith will be comparatively easy. We wish to say right here, that many earnest Christians have often gone as far as this, and yet have failed because they have not taken the further and the final step of faith. They have come right to the borders of "the land of corn, and wine,

and oil," and yet they have hesitated to exercise faith in Christ—they have shrunk back from the promised possession, and have recommenced their wanderings in the desert land. Now had they at that time exercised what our author calls a "masterful faith," the waters would have divided before them, and they would speedily have entered into this rest. The struggles which many have spoken of in their efforts to obtain this spotless purity were not called forth in their efforts to believe, but in settling the preliminaries of faith. Faith may be, and often is, born amid the struggles and throes of the soul; but the moment of its birth ends the struggle, and peace and rest follow. Generally, these struggles arise in making the consecration of all to Christ. Many persons are unknowingly deceived here. They express their willingness to consecrate all to Christ, and even say they have really done so. But when, amid the clear light of eternal truth, and the illumination of the Holy Spirit, they come solemnly and seriously to do this work, as a preparation to receive entire sanctification, they will discover some darling idol, some cherished habit, which they will find themselves reluctant to give up, or even unwilling to yield. Here the human will opposes, or crosses, the divine. And just so long as it sustains this attitude, the soul will fail to enjoy the great salvation. But when the submission and the consecration are complete, faith can readily be exercised, and, believing, the soul is saved "to the uttermost."

Dr. Foster condemns, very justly, the language which has unfortunately been used by some persons, that "we are to believe the work is done and it will be done." This language is as unphilosophical as it is unbiblical. If a work *is* done, we have no need to believe that it will be done. And then, too, when a thing is done, it passes out from the region of faith and hope, and comes within the realm of consciousness. It is now no longer a matter of faith, but an experience in consciousness, which is knowledge. Again, we cannot believe that a thing is done unless it is really done, and then we *know* it. But if we believe it is done when it is not, then we believe what is not true, and so dishonor God and deceive ourselves. The sooner such language, therefore, falls into disuse the better, for it is calculated to mislead and injure precious souls.

Now, when this great work is done, may the soul be so con-

scious of it that it can unhesitatingly bear testimony to it? It seems to us that the inquiry, in part at least, suggests its own answer; for if the work be so great as we have seen it to be, then, certainly, it must announce itself to the consciousness, and the effects of it will be seen in the character and in the life of the one in whom it is wrought. The complete eradication of all the elements of evil from the soul, and the consequent existence of nothing in all its powers contrary to the graces of the Spirit, must be fully known to the purified believer. Not only so: it is evident that the same Spirit who accomplished this work within the believer will bear his testimony to the fact that it is done. All that the Holy Ghost accomplishes in the soul is known, with more or less clearness, to the consciousness whether he convinces of sin, or renews the soul, or gives comfort, peace, and joy, or helps in prayer, or inspires, or sanctifies. All believe that this work of entire sanctification is the work of the Spirit of God. Now, then, if he is present in the soul performing this work, will he not announce his presence and his work to the consciousness? But how are we to discriminate between the witness of the Spirit in justification and his witness in entire sanctification? On this question our author speaks as follows:

The difference of the Spirit's witness in the work of justification and entire sanctification is not in the manner so much as the thing which is witnessed *to*. It is the same Spirit; the phenomena are the same, but the testimony is to different facts, and consequently differs. When one is pardoned the testimony is to precisely that fact, that he is pardoned, made alive to God; but it is not that he is entirely sanctified. When he is entirely sanctified, the same Spirit bears witness again, just as he did before; but now it is to another fact, not that he is pardoned, but that he is entirely sanctified. And if the former change was known to his own consciousness, so also will this latter be. Thus the Spirit witnesses with our spirits to our religious state whatever it may be, whether of justification merely, or entire sanctification.—P. 230.

Where this inward witness is experienced, it will be fully corroborated by a holy life. If there is entire purity of heart, there will be entire purity of character and of life. Should any one profess to have received the witness of entire sanctification, and yet, at the same time, evidently lead an irregular or an unholy life, his profession would be vain; aye, more, it would work serious injury to the cause of God. Even the

young Christian has power over sin, and his outward life shows clearly the change which has been wrought in his soul. And as the experience of the sanctified believer is on a higher plane, so his life will be more blameless and holy. It is to the life that the Church and the world look for a confirmation of the testimony of the lips. Our own mental and moral states are only known to our consciousness. Others cannot lift the vail and penetrate this inner sanctuary of our being. The life is the only index to them of what is going on in the depths of the soul. The Lord Jesus clearly gives this as a test of our real character. It is by our "fruits" that we are known. Too much importance cannot be attached to this thought. We think that the ordinary standard of Christian living is fixed far too low by the Church—far below that which the Word of God has fixed. And it is this laxity in the lives of those who are professors of religion which so frequently hinders the progress of the cause of God, and is the fruitful source of most of the infidelity in the world. If, therefore, one should testify to having attained a higher Christian life, and yet should exhibit no deep consecration of life and no blameless obedience to the divine commands, his testimony would be vain and worthless. If it were necessary that there should be only one testimony, either that of the lips or that of the life, we would say, By all means let us have the testimony of the life. But both may be harmoniously blended, so that the one shall be sweetly confirmatory of the other. And yet no life on earth will, or can be, so pure and holy but that some will harshly criticise it, others will attempt its defamation, and others still will hate and persecute the one who lives it. And none will be more active in these things than professed religionists themselves. It was a pharisaical hierarchy which crucified the Lord Jesus Christ and stoned the saintly Stephen to death. More sneers and sarcasms to-day are flung at those who endeavor to live saintly lives, by those who are called Christians, than by the godless world around.

There are many restrained from seeking for this entire purity lest they should be unable to meet the responsibilities of this relation. But this difficulty is without any foundation in fact; for with this experience there comes a divine strength to enable its possessor to abide in this perfect love, by keep-

ing the commandments of the Lord. The great anxiety should be to obtain this salvation—to have this experience. When it is enjoyed, then there will be no difficulty in meeting its responsibilities and exhibiting its grace; but it is one of the saddest sights to see one trying to act this state without the inward grace and power. Where the light *is*, it will shine without any effort. All the soul has to do is to “let it shine.” The sun, moon, and stars do not try to shine; they have the light, and—they shine.

There are *degrees* in this state of entire purity. When the soul has entered upon this experience it has every thing to learn; and while the fruits are perfect in kind, they are very far from being perfect in degree. Now that the believer is holy, he is to “perfect holiness in the fear of the Lord.” The tests which the author applies to this state are, as he says, “severe;” but they are all met, in a good degree, in the infancy of this state, and are manifested more and more as the soul matures and strengthens in it. In the early stages of this grace, too, lapses are not only possible, but probable. Some unguarded word may be spoken—some sudden temptation may be yielded to—and, of course, the soul sinks down at once from its high position. Then comes the sad suggestion of the adversary, “It is utterly useless for you to try to be wholly the Lord’s. See what you have said—see what you have done!” This suggestion should not be listened to for a moment, although many have listened to it and relapsed into their former mode of living. Now the unfortunate and unhappy one should come again to the fountain of Jesus’ blood, and sink, by faith, deeper than ever into its crimson tide. Another point which Dr. Foster makes in this connection is worthy of attention. A person may lose the evidence of his entire purity, and still retain the evidence of his being in a justified state before God. Of course if he sins willfully and persistently, then he forfeits both his justification and sanctification; but what would mar, and even negative, this witness would not utterly destroy his peace with God.

If Christians, then, have this evidence of their entire holiness, they may, and they should, bear their testimony to its truth and reality. Duty, gratitude, honor, and moral honesty will compel them to this. Of course all “boasting is excluded”

from this testimony. In bearing it with meekness, simplicity, and fear, the purified believer has no idea or desire of exalting self, but of glorifying Christ. No doubt that much damage has been done to this cause by a hasty profession, and by unguarded and open-mouthed assertions; and yet the truly sanctified soul must testify of, must confess, Christ. If the heavenly light which the Holy Ghost has enkindled in his soul is put under a bushel, or under a bed, because of the fear of men, or from a desire to please men, or in view of the opprobrium to be met in making this confession, it will be not only concealed, but will be smothered and expire from mere exhaustion, in darkness. On this point Dr. Foster utters the following by way of caution to those who enjoy this grace: "Do not fall into the delusion that specific profession should be confidently and often repeated." For our own part we could wish that the word "profession" were never used in this connection. Although the words profession and confession have the same general signification, yet the former has come to have a fixed meaning as something boastful and egotistical. It is not, therefore, the primary meaning of the word to which we object, but because of the associations with which the mind surrounds it, especially when employed in connection with this experience. The word "confession" is generally understood in a subjective sense, and consequently is much less objectionable. And hence when he who has attained this grace bears his testimony to the fact, it is not a profession of what *he is*, so much as it is a confession of what *Christ has done for him*. Thus all semblance of egotism and boasting is excluded. The glory is all ascribed to Christ, to whom it properly and of right belongs. The *ego* is made to sink down into the dust of the lowest and deepest humiliation, WHILE CHRIST IS ALL IN ALL. Any thing which savors of a boastful profession is always offensive to sensible persons. It may startle and excite the wonder of the ignorant, gaping crowd for awhile; but the intelligent and the thoughtful will either listen to it with pain or with disgust. Every thing connected with this state excludes boasting. If the believer has been cleansed from all sin, it is the blood of Christ which has cleansed him. If he is sanctified wholly, it is only by the power and presence of the Holy Ghost that this work has been wrought. If Christ

is made to him "sanctification" as well as "wisdom and righteousness," "let him that glorieth, glory in the Lord." If he is to "be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh him a reason of the hope that is in him," he is to do it "with meekness and fear." Thus, while "with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, with the mouth confession is to be made unto salvation." Two very important cautions, among many others, are given by Dr. Foster at this point: the one is, that we are not to profess to enjoy this blessing as a *means* to its enjoyment, (p. 216;) and the other is, that such a profession will not *repair* any suspicion which the person himself or others may have, that he has lost this grace. (P. 306.) Certainly to profess to enjoy what one does not enjoy, in order to enjoy the thing which is professed, is not only an absurdity which no sane person could indulge in, but is a downright falsehood which no Christian would be guilty of. And to profess to enjoy a grace which has been manifestly lost is equally absurd and false. Such a profession might deceive men, but it cannot deceive God; and instead of bringing the soul nearer to God, it would land it in deeper darkness and doubt.

With regard to the utility of "special meetings" for the promotion of Christian holiness, Dr. Foster has some very timely remarks which we cordially indorse. As to the reasons which have mainly led to the holding of these meetings he says: "We cannot doubt that in many, perhaps in most, instances they have been driven to separate and class-effort from the indifference and coldness of their brethren, and in many instances of the pastors."—P. 276.

What he says about "schools," and "class-religion," and segregation of the body of believers, we cordially sympathize with. Such persons as "are forming into a separate body, acquiring a nomenclature of their own, having a charmed circle within whose inclosure only certain persons are expected to be found, calling themselves by the names of favorite leaders, and becoming known to and specially sympathetic with each other," (p. 275,) certainly are not pursuing either the wisest or the best course. We suppose that the Doctor is here specially aiming at the Nazarite and kindred movements, the excesses and vagaries of which greatly damaged a large district of our

Church, and are justly deserving of all the condemnation fulminated against them ; but all the meetings for the promotion of holiness which it has ever been our privilege to attend have been widely different from those described above. Those whom we have met in these meetings have been, as a rule, among the most loyal and devoted members of the several Churches to which they have belonged, without the remotest idea of separating from them. The nomenclature usually employed has been thoroughly biblical or Wesleyan. We have never known one to be called by the name of any favorite leader, and we have never been taught any sign or grip by which they become known to each other. That those who attend these meetings are specially interested in this great question is readily admitted. That the subject of holiness is the burden of the thought, the desire, the experience, the instructions, and the testimony, is what might reasonably be expected ; and the circle where they meet is only a " charmed " one because of the manifest presence of Jesus. Holiness never divides. It is the everlasting bond of union which binds man to God and saints to each other. It is sin which sunders this bond, and brings disorder, division, and disorganization in the universe. Hence the eternal antagonism between these two elements. And wherever sin reigns or remains, unless there be the most earnest desires and efforts for its removal or destruction, and in just so far as it exists or dominates in the soul, there will be antagonism to holiness and holy persons. Holiness is the great unifying power in the Church of God, and in proportion as it is cherished and cultivated will the Church be united and prosperous.

We are hopeful, therefore, that the mighty movement which has been going on, not only in our own beloved Church, but also in our sister Churches for several years past, for the reviviscence of this doctrine and experience—a movement now so well understood, and having so generally the approval of the leading minds of the Church—will bring back all our ministers and people to our normal *status* on this question, and land them upon a higher platform of Christian experience and efficiency.

We cordially indorse what Dr. Foster says about the unity of the Church in all its grades of experience: " Christians are all one family ; and though some have attained more grace,

deeper experience, than others, the family circle should not be sundered."—P. 277.

It is true that some of the family are only babes in knowledge and experience; but they are to be all the more loved and cared for because they are babes. The weak, the feeble, the halting, and the faint, need all the more encouragement and aid. Some may and will think and act differently from others; they may occupy different stand-points; but they are neither to be slighted nor ignored because of these things. The "strong" in the family ought "to bear the infirmities of the weak." And more than this: not only should this love and care be extended to the members of our own branch of the family, but also to *all* the branches of the family of God. Here is a plane of Christian experience which is elevated far above the narrow lines of denominationalism, the petty jealousies and envies, the contentions and strifes of parties; and where Christians of all creeds and of all forms of worship, "who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity," are united in the inseverable bonds of love.

In presenting the motives for the attainment of entire holiness, the distinguished powers of our author are more fully brought to bear than in any other part of his book. He calls our attention to a "ceaselessly preaching universe," while he analyzes its utterances as it speaks of the "intrinsic excellence and glory of this state," of "the command of God," of "the interests of the cause of Christ in the world," of "our surroundings," of "time and eternity," of "heaven and hell." On these last motives he speaks as follows:

Would you see the value of holiness, linger here. Pursue the upward destiny of a soul brightening under the smile of God forever. See its ever-increasing and unfolding beauty; hear the ravishing melody of its triumphant song. The ages flee away; but mightier than decay, stronger than death, the soul lives on, ascending, widening its circle, becoming more and more like God, and losing itself ever in his ineffable radiance. Such is the destiny of a soul washed in the blood of Jesus. Behold, on the other hand, a soul darkening under the frown of Jehovah. Ages fly away; its darkness broods darker still, its sorrows gather down in denser folds; it is lost. The lengthened periods of eternity roll by, but they bring no redemption; deep, dark, dismal gloom settles around its sphere forever. Learn by the contrast the value of holiness. Its presence is life; its absence is eternal death.—P. 323.

We are truly thankful that this great doctrine has been so clearly and ably presented. God is calling upon his people now to be holy as at no former period in the history of the Church. Never before was this privilege so clearly and extensively proclaimed. Never were there so many living witnesses of its experience. Never were there so many of our ministers and people really "groaning after perfect love." Nor is this work confined to our own Church. Episcopalians and Quakers, Presbyterians and Baptists—in a word, representatives of all the evangelical Churches—are beholding their calling, and beginning to "apprehend" more fully "that for which they are apprehended by Christ Jesus." And this mighty movement is characterized by the absence of all controversy, and by the high and increasing valuation which is placed upon *testimony*. While it is essential that the doctrine should be clearly formulated and simplified, yet it would be nothing but a dead letter if it were not vivified by a blessed experience and enforced by the saintly lives of those who profess to enjoy it. And it is this "word of their testimony" by which the saints of God are to overcome this world—testimony based upon experience, and corroborated by a holy, blameless life. If the whole Church were coming up to this experience, if all its ministry and membership had graven on their hearts and on their lives "Holiness unto the Lord," how soon would this redeemed world bow down at the feet of Jesus! Recognizing her obligations, she would employ her energies for this purpose. Acknowledging her stewardship, she would lay her wealth upon the altar of sacrifice; and what is now expended for luxuries, trifles, and extravagances, or hoarded up in the spirit of covetousness, would become holy unto the Lord, and would be employed for the world's redemption. Not only so: she would also gladly give up her sons and daughters to bear her messages of salvation to the ends of the earth. Then the strongholds of heathenism, infidelity, Romanism, intemperance, impurity, and error would fall before her victorious arms, while, comprehending her possibilities, and reaching forth to experience and enjoy them, she would confess, illustrate, and exemplify that entire Christian purity which is the inheritance of the saints.

ART. III.—THE LAND OF THE VEDA.

The Land of the Veda: Being Personal Reminiscences of India; Its People, Castes, Thugs, and Fakirs; its Religions, Mythology, Principal Monuments, Palaces, and Mausoleums: together with the Incidents of the Great Sepoy Rebellion, and its Results to Christianity and Civilization. With a Map of India, and Forty-two Illustrations. Also, Statistical Tables of Christian Missions, and a Glossary of Indian Terms used in this Work and in Missionary Correspondence. By Rev. WILLIAM BUTLER, D.D. Third Edition. Royal 8vo. Pp. 550.

It was at the very beginning of the second millennium of the Christian era that Mahmoud of Ghuznee, that fierce and intolerant iconoclast, poured down from the highlands of Central Asia his Tartar hordes upon the teeming plains of Hindustán, marking by his sanguinary crescentades the eleventh century far more deeply in the pagan East than any event, whether of martial prowess or religious propagandism, marked that era in the Christian West. The first faint streaks of morning light had not yet appeared above the European horizon, shrouded in mediæval darkness; from the Bosphorus west, and north from the Pillars of Hercules, the whole continent was wrapped in an almost starless night. Peter the Hermit and his motley following of crusaders had not yet made their first march for the rescue of the Holy Sepulcher, and the songs of the troubadours were yet unsung. Mahmoud and his followers did more to stir the stagnant pool of Hindoo life—the religious life of India—than the aggregated efforts of the whole world of Christendom were at that time accomplishing in awaking and arousing moribund Europe from the deep lethargy in which it lay during those centuries of intellectual, moral, and religious gloom. In doing this they laid the foundations of a new empire—the most splendid known in the annals of the gorgeous Orient—upon the ruins of more than a hundred kingdoms, principalities, and states, the rulers of some of which might have traced their kingly descent back beyond the days of David and Solomon.

Not only did Mahmoud and his chieftains, during their twelve principal incursions—made ostensibly in the interests of religion, but resulting in bringing to the raiders treasures of untold wealth—prepare the way for, and even inaugurate, the upbuilding of the magnificent Mogul empire, but, while propagating the faith of Islam among the timid and yielding

Hindus—teaching the Koran in the land of the Veda, until to-day, at the sound of the muezzin's call to prayer, more than thirty million followers of the prophet turn their faces westward from the plains of India toward the Kaaba in Mecca—they also became the unconscious founders of the Urdu tongue, a language now spoken more or less fluently by perhaps a hundred millions of people in the great Gangetic valley and the provinces of Northern India, and in which the traveler may make himself understood from the Himálayas and Peshawar on the north to Calcutta and Cape Comorin on the south.

The story of these invasions is clearly seen to mark a new era in the history of India; in fact, it marks the very beginning of all succinct and reliable history concerning that great South Asian peninsula and its babbling millions. Just there its trustworthy written chronicles begin, and the anxious historian is able to separate between the dubious past and the surer and more trustworthy records of subsequent chroniclers. Beyond that all is hopelessly mixed and blended with the uncertain, extravagant, and improbable. As a race or sect the Hindus possess very few, if any, really authentic records of their country and the vast peoples who have from time to time inhabited it. In this the Buddhists, who for a time occupied nearly the whole peninsula, far surpassed them, as these have left something from which to weave a partial history of their advances and successes, and of their final defeat and overthrow by the Brahmins of India.

It may be that the wide and fertile domain of mythology, giving free range to fancy, offered a more pleasing and attractive field to the glowing oriental mind than the cold and circumscribed one of matter-of-fact history. It is hardly possible that the extravagant imagination which revels in the creations of gods and demons, genii and giants, and in clothing them with fantastic powers to perform supernatural acts, should take delight in the sober details of historical facts. Certain it is that the Hindu is rich in a literature detailing with marvelous minuteness the history of his gods and goddesses, the powers and operations of the heavens above and of the hells beneath; but any connected history of the real events happening on his native soil will be sought in vain. Kingdoms and dynasties have passed away without one faithful chronicler. Empires

have been lost and won without a single record of their fate. We know that vast and important changes have taken place, but are left to conjecture their causes. Historic fact is so blended with fantastic myth as to render both alike worthless. Human agents are so confused with demons and preterhuman beings, and their acts so inextricably intermingled, as to render hopeless the task of gleaning even a sheaf of fact amid a whole field of fancy. Coins, sculptured monuments, inscriptions on pillars and rocks, in caves and cave temples, the legends of the people and the genealogies of bards—these constitute the sources whence the history of India covering long ages must be drawn. But these sources, though tedious and imperfect, are yielding to the patient and scholarly efforts of western *savants*—numismatists, archæologists, and comparative philologists—a rich and increasing harvest of historic data, from which certain theories of more recent date are receiving confirmation, and others of long standing are being overthrown and discarded as now untenable or worthless.

To this sweeping assertion of the poverty of historical data in India, an exception might be urged in behalf of a catalogue of the Solar and Lunar races of kings, so-called, because they claimed descent, the former from the sun and the latter from the moon. Their rule in certain provinces of Hindustán reaches back to a date anterior to that of the Macedonian invasion. But this list of names, when any thing else than a mere list, becomes a “loose legendry of licensed fiction,” and gives little idea of the reigns of these Hindu kings or the condition of the people under them. Far more of historic value and interest has been gathered from certain inscriptions on rocks and pillars, now generally ascribed to the era of Asoka, a powerful emperor who is supposed to have reigned toward the close of the third century before Christ, and to have extended his dominions to the most distant provinces of India, as these sculptured monuments, covered with records in the ancient Pali character, have been found in all parts of the peninsula, in Cuttack on the eastern coast, in the mountains of Gujerat on the west, and in the interior of the North-western provinces.

A theory has been advanced that much of the history of India which might have reached down to the present time is not forthcoming because of the great Buddhistic awakening

or reformation, which, from its outbreak early in the second century before Christ, swept over nearly the entire peninsula, and, winning its victorious way for eight centuries, humbled proud Brahmanism for a time, but afterward declined, until now it is only known in some of the remoter parts of the country. The Brahmans would fain conceal this humiliating record, and among their written works no clear statement of their overthrow as the spiritual guides of the country is to be found. But the monuments of Buddhism reveal a history that cannot be mistaken. What the Brahmans dared not commit even to the keeping of the palmyra leaf, the Buddhists committed to material structures, colossal images, the walls of temples excavated in the solid rock, as those at Ellora, Ajunta, and Elephanta, and, after the lapse of more than two thousand years, they now fill up in some measure a blank in the past history of India.

The record of the rise and fall of this great power in India, largely influencing, as it did, the destinies of the country and its people for more than twelve centuries, is a record of extraordinary interest even in the imperfect form in which we find it. For the historian, the philanthropist, the Christian philosopher, and the earnest missionary worker in the India field, there are interesting and important lessons to be learned from the glimpses which we get into the past mysterious history of that land through the huge rents made by the "violent hand of sectarianism," whether the sectary be the simple-minded, confiding follower of Shakiya Muni, the reputed father and founder of Buddhism, the red-handed propagator of Moslemism under Mahmoud and Tamerlane, or the disciple of Guru Nánuk, the great Sikh reformer of more recent times. By what strange power did the first-named of these faiths build for itself, in the very face of the Brahman priesthood, a social, religious, and political superstructure to last for a dozen centuries, and then wane in that land only to betake itself to even more populous China? What were its sources of strength in religious propagandism? Not the sword, for its founder, though of royal birth, was a saint, a recluse, who after years of asceticism only emerged from his retreat to lecture in the vulgar tongue among the common people, and in the very presence of kings, against the oppressions of caste and a hereditary priesthood. Denying the existence of divinity, he permitted

divine honors to be paid to himself, and pretended both to work miracles and to be himself a standing miracle of divine knowledge. If the history we have gathered be at all worthy of acceptance, then in the eye of the world the preachers of the Buddhistic faith counted manifold more genuine adherents in three or four centuries than all the ministers and missionaries of the Christian faith could count after the first seventeen centuries of their evangelizing efforts. Have we still a lesson to learn from these Buddhist priests? Their faith, though by no means a pure or rational one, was a vast improvement on the corrupt and cankering hierarchy of Brahmanism, and its advocates had to encounter much the same opposition which the Christian missionary has to meet from Hinduism to-day. The venerable Dr. Wilson, of Bombay, one of the oldest and most learned missionaries of India, in a very able and erudite article on this subject in a recent number of "The British and Foreign Evangelical Review," sums up what appear to him the palpable reasons for the wonderful success of Buddhism in India thus: "To the reaction which it produced against caste, and its accordance of a religious and civil *status* independent of that partial and tyrannical system, to its moral and ethical teachings, to its institution of predatory missions, operating among all classes of the community and using the vernacular languages, and to its wonderful structural and excavated shrines and hermitages, are to be attributed its remarkable progress and triumph."

It may be well here to correct a very common error, one which prevails extensively in the United States, at least, regarding the prevalence of Buddhism and the number of its adherents at the present time in peninsular India. The writer has not unfrequently caused undisguised surprise by stating that during a residence of many years in that country he never made the acquaintance of a single follower of Shakiya Muni, either priest or pilgrim, except a few Jains or heterodox Buddhists who are still found in the Rajpootana States in Central and North-western India. When, therefore, the name of Buddhist is used, it should be understood that the orthodox adherents of this faith are rarely found on the continent, that is, in peninsular India, but in Burmah, and eastward in Farther India, and on the island of Ceylon; and that the great mass

of those professing this faith, perhaps the four fifths, are now found in the different provinces of China.

Any attempt to bring in a popular form the past history and present social, political, and religious condition of so old, so interesting, so extensive and densely populated a country before the minds of the people of the West, and especially of the Churches of America, must be deemed, as it has been pronounced, most praiseworthy. The author of "*The Land of the Veda*" undertakes no less a task than to lead us through and acquaint us with a country where, as we have already seen, the three great rival religions of Christianity in the world, to wit, Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Moslemism, have displayed themselves in their strength, the first and last still having their strongholds there—only Taoism and Sintooism remaining to complete the list of *all* the great opposing systems of faith which Christianity has encountered, and with which it has still to contend. How well this design has been accomplished the press and the public have already declared, and we propose still further to show. Or, if more substantial evidence be desired, the worthy publishers can testify by telling the number and size of the editions already exhausted in meeting the public appreciation of the work, although it is now only a few months since the book was issued and put into the market.

Few volumes have gone out from the great Methodist publishing house which have been more creditable as works of art than this beautiful volume, "*The Land of the Veda.*" The cheaper editions are quite up to the best style of the "art preservative" in America, and the presentation volumes are in nothing short of superb. The engravings, with a few exceptions, are well executed, and greatly enhance the interest and beauty of the work. It might be expected that these would necessarily increase the price, as they certainly add greatly to the expense of publication; but the cost is in keeping with what it was the design of the author to prepare, namely, a *popular* volume on India; and in the consummation of this design we have no doubt both publishers and author will have ample reason to rejoice together.

In America—the new West—where as yet there are comparatively few large libraries, and these seldom containing more than a very few volumes concerning the old East, it is not sur-

prising that there should be a want of information and interest regarding India, and that the impression should be common that few books about that country had ever been written. While this want of information and interest is admitted only to be lamented, the common impression as to the paucity of works on the East is very erroneous. The catalogue of books written and now extant on India is exceedingly voluminous. If one will take the pains to look over the long list of works in the British Museum Library, and in the library of the late Honorable East India Company, as well as in other public and private English libraries, not to mention the many large and learned volumes published on the continent, and in India itself, within the last century, he will find that in many branches of letters, as history, biography, ethnology, botany, natural history, philology, numismatology, etc., a far more extensive literature exists pertaining to India alone than is generally supposed to be extant concerning the entire East, and comparing favorably with all the books ever written about the United States of America. When the author of "*The Land of the Veda*" was asked why he had chosen this novel and somewhat peculiar title for his book, he frankly confessed that, along with other reasons, the fact that nearly every available title had been already appropriated, and many of them several times, had led to this choice. The thousands of volumes already written and named had exhausted the list of titles, and a new one had to be chosen. It is, perhaps, not the best title that could have been selected, being liable to a charge of indefiniteness, taking in too much or too little, as more or less perfectly understood, and requiring consequent explanation. A less weighty objection is, that it is liable to almost uniform mispronunciation; the proper sound of the *e* in Veda being the continental, or that of our long *a*, and the final vowel (*a*) not being sounded at all. The pundits and people of India pronounce it *Vade*, to rhyme with our word *made*; but it may be too much to expect that American readers will stop to take lessons of Hindu pundits and munshees in orthoepy. The work, unless read in the light of its secondary and subsidiary title, namely, "*Personal Reminiscences of India*," is certainly open to criticism on the score of defective or imperfect arrangement. One could wish the second had been the principal title; the

philosophic and orderly reader would not then have felt the somewhat severe mental jolting occasioned by sudden and unexpected changes of subject, from narrative to historic fact, and again to descriptive detail, concerning the country, its people, their manners, religions, castes, etc., as may be found on pages 16, 76, 100, 206, and elsewhere. The matter of the entire volume might be much more artistically arranged without very great labor, and certainly without injuring the plan and integrity of the work, and, we think, without affecting the author's desire of furnishing a popular book. All that precedes the middle of page 16 should be made in form, what it is in fact, an introduction to the volume. Many of the chapters should be divided, and, while the narrative is kept up, the weightier and more instructive matter thrown into better shape.

The writer, in point of material, evidently encountered an *embarras du richesse*; and the difficulty, as is clearly apparent, arises from an attempt to compress in one volume the subject-matter of two distinct works, to wit: 1, The author's reminiscences of Indian life, including a vivid sketch of the great Sepoy Rebellion, and a brief glance at the founding of the missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India; and, 2, A history of India, its people, their customs, literature, religions, castes, mythology, mausoleums, monuments, palaces, etc., including the author's observations and experience in connection with the civil and political occupancy of the country, with a statement of the progress of Christian missions, their past difficulties and successes, and their present *status*, including those elaborate and richly-laden tables of statistics at the close of the work. This would have given the reading public *two* fair-sized volumes of far more than ordinary worth. And nearly sufficient matter for these volumes, in befitting garb and of absorbing interest, the author has furnished in the work under review. In prosecuting the plan here suggested, much more space might be given to a history of the missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India, of which Dr. Butler was the founder, and for eight years the energetic superintendent. Dissatisfaction has been expressed that, aside from a somewhat detailed account of the *founding* of these missions, and brief reference to the Orphanages and Zenana work, but little appears in these five hundred and fifty generous pages in relation to the

real work now in hand in that rich field, except as the *results* may be gathered from the closely printed tables in the appendix. Now that pastors and people, throughout all the borders of our Church, are seeking for reliable information, for facts and figures, concerning the actual operations and progress of our foreign missions, a volume for which there would be, for which there is now, great demand, might be written, merely taking up the work where Dr. Butler^{*} has laid it down.

Our missionaries in the great India field have now been hard at work for a period of thirteen years, during which time an average of twelve to sixteen men have been actively engaged ; and to-day all the methods of aggressive evangelizing agency approved in modern missionary work are there in active and successful operation. The statistics, as tabulated by Dr. Butler, show a most encouraging result for the first decade of effective missionary labor ; particularly when it is remembered that the first years of every such evangelistic enterprise must necessarily be years of toil, years of seed-sowing, with perhaps little apparent result. While this is true of the inception of any great undertaking, it is especially true of the planting of Christian missions in heathen soil ; the time and energy of the workers being largely occupied in the acquisition of languages, securing sites, and erecting the necessary buildings for residences, schools, and chapels. Perhaps no mission to the heathen world has ever been more vigorously worked than our own in India, and the result is just what good and wise men might anticipate—gratifying success under gracious guidance, and an immediate outlook upon still greater achievements and still higher success. The Church, in its ministry and laity, desires to be made acquainted with the steps in our mission progress, and to be assured, as they follow the details of the work, that they are not deceived as to the efforts, trials, and successes of the workers.

High praise has already been bestowed upon "The Land of the Veda" by both the secular and religious press, alike in the unsectarian daily and weekly journal, and monthly magazine, and in the stately quarterly of almost every denomination, by ministers and missionary secretaries, travelers, and statesmen. One ^{*}says of it :

^{*} Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, D.D.

"The Land of the Veda" has not been published one day too soon. It gives an insight into the social condition, religious and missionary history of a land which has been the scene of so much past injustice at the hands of Christian nations, and which is now attracting, among all branches of the Church, so much true enthusiasm and endeavor, that all classes of community are anxious to know somewhat more definitely and directly about it. The plan of the work is well adapted both to stimulate and gratify this curiosity. It is a most timely and comprehensive contribution to the history of Christian, and so of human, progress in these last days.

Another * says:

The beautiful volume entitled "The Land of the Veda" gives the best view I have seen of India in the great crisis of the Sepoy Rebellion, one that is highly instructive and interesting. The intelligent reader will see reason to believe that the rebellion was the natural result of causes that are gradually ceasing to exist, and that, in God's wonder-working providence, it put forward greatly the evangelization of India. The elaborate statements in many parts of the volume throw much light on what remains to be done in that remarkable country.

A third † says:

India is truly the land of wonders, and no one in recent times has better described and illustrated these wonders than has Dr. Butler. His word-painting is admirable, and to the illustration of scenes thus depicted he has here also brought to his help the power of the photographer and the engraver's art. . . . The volume is a most valuable contribution to the literature of India, and has special interest to us as coming directly from our own mission field in that great country.

These, and added pages of testimonials from other able pens, touching as above the various salient points in the book, and yet not all alike discriminating, show the reception the work has met at the hands of an appreciative press and public.

As a statistician Dr. Butler has probably no superior in the Church or in the country; in collecting, arranging, and tabulating facts and figures, showing the past progress and present *status* of evangelism throughout the world—at home as well as in heathen lands—he has more than once shown his ability. The common reader has no proper conception of the care and labor necessary to the collection and compilation of ten such

* Rev. Dr. Anderson, Missionary Secretary A. B. C. F. M.

† Rev. Dr. (now Bishop) I. W. Wiley.

tables as are found on pages 528 to 538 of this book, and may be hardly ready to accept the statement that these ten cost the author almost as much time and pains as all the other five hundred and forty pages of the work. A voluminous correspondence with the secretaries of the various Missionary, Tract, and Bible Societies in America and England, and on the Continent—indeed, not only throughout all Protestant Christendom, but with the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church as well—was necessary to bring together the mass of statistical information contained in these ruled and figured pages. Here is the skeleton, and to some the very meat and marrow, of many a missionary speech or sermon. It would take too much space to give here an analysis of and comment upon these tables. They supply very much in the way of information needed by those earnest workers who labor to make the “Missionary Sabbath” and the “Monthly Concert of Prayer” at once interesting and profitable. For example: the first table presents an encouraging view of the missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India; the number of missionaries, native agency, Church membership, baptisms, day and Sunday-schools, and amount and value of property. Numbers IX and X of these tables, giving the statistics of Roman Catholic missions, and comparing the success of Roman and Protestant missions throughout the world, are full of wonderful statements, showing the marvelous success of the latter, despite the apathy of doubters and the opposition of the world, during their comparatively brief history, and exposing the exaggerated claims of prosperity on the part of the former. It is not surprising that Romanism has winced under the galling effect of these statistics, got from their own authorities by Dr. Butler; and that some of her champions have attempted a reply in the public prints, with but poor success. The figures they cannot deny, but the results they would fain keep from sight. Protestant missions have been only about seventy years in operation, while Roman missions are the growth of over three hundred and fifty years; and yet the former are accomplishing, as shown, fourfold more for the evangelization of the world than the latter, with all their boasted superiority of method and devotion of life. Let the statistics be examined, and Protestantism need not fear the decree.

The view taken by the author of the system of religion contained in the Vedas, though the popular one, is perhaps not the most just and discriminating. There exist at the present day, among the more advanced thinkers—oriental scholars, the statesmen and missionaries of India—two distinct and very dissimilar estimates of the sacred writings of the Hindoos. Perhaps we cannot better set forth the essential difference in the opinions held concerning the Vedas by different minds than by quoting a few sentences out of many at hand, representing the views of each side, and let the reader see how widely they diverge.

The worship of Almighty God in his unity is taught in the Vedas. They contain a pure system of theism. . . . The religion of the Vedas is simple and childlike, but none the less pure on that account. . . . They teach good doctrine, and there is much in them that is not only beautiful, but that is Christian experience.

No worship ever mocked the skies more miserable and contemptible than the religion of the Vedas. One is shocked at every step with the revelations of this mystery of iniquity and sensuality, where saints and gods, male and female, hold high orgies amid the fumes of intoxicating liquor, with their singing and screaming, and the challenging by which they urge one another on to deeper debasement, until at length decency retires and leaves them glorying in their shame.

There is no mistaking the disparity of view here expressed. Both seem to us extreme, and we possibly should take a middle course; but having noticed that he who through fear cries "*in medio tutissimus*," rarely fails to be the extremest of the trio, we prefer believing that the poor fellow who had lost his right hand and one or two fingers from the left, would be abundantly able to count upon the remaining digits all the western scholars who are now, or have been, able to give a fair and impartial estimate of the teachings of the Vedas. While we would not be counted among the apologists of the bad theology, false philosophy, and debasing immorality found mingled in these most ancient writings, yet we are safe in saying that we may do them an injustice unless we remember that, unlike the Christian Scriptures, they were not watched and guarded by the sleepless eye of opposing sects, and that they have not

come down to our times pure and genuine as are our Scriptures, but that they have been tampered with, interpolated and annotated, until it is now difficult to tell, except by the "analogy of faith," which is Veda and which Brahmana or annotation. There is in these ancient volumes of the Hindoo faith much that is true and beautiful and good, as well as much that is low, senseless, and bad. Whence came the former? and how and when were the corruptions introduced?

Dr. Butler has taken the more commonly received Christian view, namely, that of our second extract, being the same as that of Professor H. H. Wilson, and other eminent orientalists. Professor Max Müller, though not the safest champion of any cause, has said much in favor of the view given in the first extract, and has done more than any other man, except perhaps Rajah Rammohum Roy, to set these writings before the world in a more favorable light. Possibly the strictest orthodoxy will not be ready to forgive the learned professor for writing and sending forth his late work on the "Science of Comparative Religion;" and yet it may not be the wisest for evangelical Christendom, because it possesses all the truth requisite to salvation, to look with supercilious or intolerant eye upon all the teachings found in other systems. There *may* be much of truth, much that is good, much that is divine, in the Vedas, as well as in the Mahomedan Koran, and in the sacred books of other religions, though that truth may be sadly distorted and inextricably mingled with errors of man's devising. There is a question of great interest very closely related to this subject, which is as yet quite undecided, and which during the next decade or two will, we prophesy, be more extensively discussed than the question of the origin either of man or of evil. It may be stated thus: Has there been, during the history of our race, more than one center of manifest divine revelation? In other words, has God touched the human race, so as to communicate a revelation of his will at any point other than among the Hebrew people, and, after Christ, among his followers? or has he confided to the keeping of other races and languages the truths of his moral kingdom—especially a knowledge of the plan of salvation? Have any of the heathen nations been made the receptacles of a revelation in any definite form, even though less clear and specific, as other nations seemed to fall

below the Hebrew patriarchs and prophets in their fitness to receive such revealings? So much of truth, and even of high moral teaching, is found among certain peoples, that we must conclude, with the intuitional deists, (as the Brahmos, or adherents of the Brahmo Samáj,) either that God reveals himself to each intelligent being, or that these peoples have by contact with other nations, or through the agency of missionaries in the very earliest ages, received many of the truths of our Bible, or that a revelation has been made to them direct as nations and peoples. When this interesting question shall have been settled, if that time comes before the millennium, it may throw much light upon the composition and precise character of the Hindu Scriptures; meantime they must be used to throw what light they may upon the question.

As a matter of interest, and for the twofold purpose of showing, as we have stated, that very much of the true, the beautiful; and the good, may be found in the early writings of the Hindus, and also that a very near approach to the Christian scheme of redemption is easily traced in them, we here introduce a selection from the Rámáyan of Valmíki, the sage, written, in the Sanscrit language, long ages before the incarnation of Christ, and which is to-day read and rehearsed by hundreds and thousands of educated Hindus, in the hearing of the unlettered, by day and by night, so that the sound of the reading or rehearsal never ceases. This must of necessity exert a wonderful influence upon the lives of the people; and to the truth and virtue taught in it, and in kindred poems, we are inclined to attribute many of the noble traits and peculiar virtues of these people. The Rámáyan is probably the most ancient epic poem now extant, and is only exceeded by the Vedas in antiquity. It contains the history of the seventh incarnation of the god Vishnu, in the person of Rám, king of Ayodhya (Oude.) "The style and language of the poem are those of an early heroic age, and there are signs of its having been popular at least three centuries before Christ." In Mrs. Spier's "Life in Ancient India" we find the following brief argument of the opening chapter:

The island of Ceylon had fallen under the dominion of a prince named Rávan, who was a demon of such power that, by dint of penance, he had extorted from the god Brahma a promise that no

immortal should destroy him. Such a promise was as relentless as the Greek Fates, from which Jove himself could not escape, and Rávan, now deeming himself invulnerable, gave up asceticism, and tyrannized over the whole of southern India. At length even the gods in heaven were distressed at the destruction of holiness and the oppression of virtue consequent upon his tyrannies, and they called a council in the mansion of Brahmá to consider how the earth could be relieved of such a fiend. To this council came the god Vishnu, riding on an eagle, like the sun on a cloud; the other gods entreat him to give his aid, and he promises to be *born* on earth, and to accomplish the destruction of the terrific Rávan, the embodiment of evil:

Thus to the Lord by whom the worlds were made,
The gods of heaven in full assembly prayed:
"O, Brahma, mighty by thy tendered grace!
Fierce Rávan, leader of the giant race,
Torments the gods, too feeble to withstand
The ceaseless fury of his heavy hand.
From thee, well pleased, he gained in days of old
That saving gift by which he waxes bold;
And we, obedient to that high behest,
Bear all his outrage, patient and oppress.

He scourges—impious fiend!—earth, hell, and sky,
And Indra,* lord of gods, would fain defy.
Mad with thy boon, he vexes in his rage
Fiend, angel, seraph, Brahman, saint, and sage.
From him the sun restrains his wonted glow,
Nor dares the wind upon his face to blow;
And ocean, necklaced with the wandering wave,
Stills the wild waters till they cease to rave.
O Father, lend us thine avenging aid,
And slay this fiend, for we are sore afraid."

They ceased. Then pondering in his secret mind,
"One way," he said, "to stay this scourge I find:
Once, at his prayer, I swore his life to guard
From god and angel, fiend and heavenly bard;
But the proud giant, in o'erweening scorn,
Recked not of mortal foe, of *woman born*.
Man, only *man*, this hideous pest may stay;
None else may take his charmed life away."

When Brahma's speech the gods and sages heard,
Their fainting souls with hope reviving stirred
Then crowned with glory like a mighty flame,
Lord Vishnu † timely to the council came:

* The Hindu Jove or Jupiter; the regent of the visible heavens and of the inferior divinities.

† The second person of the Hindoo *Trimurti*, or Trinity; the *Preserver*.

Shell, mace, and discus in his hands he bore,
 And royal raiment, tinged with gold, he wore.
 Hailed by the gods, most glorious to behold,
 With shining armlets forged of burnisht gold,
 He rode his eagle through the reverent crowd,
 Like the sun borne upon some darksome cloud.
 Lost in deep thought, he stood by Brahma's side,
 While all the immortals praised his name, and cried :

" O Vishnu, Lord divine, thine aid we crave,
 Friend of the worlds, a ruined world to save.
Divide thy godhead, Lord, and for the sake
 Of gods and men, *man's nature on THEE take!*
 Shrined in the bodies of four* children, spring
 From the three wives of fair Ayodhya's king: †
 High rank with saints that godly prince may claim,
 And those sweet queens, with Beauty, Grace, and Fame.
 Assume man's nature thus, and slay in fight
 This common scourge, who laughs at heavenly might—
 The giant Rávan, who in senseless pride,
 Has, trusting to his own right arm, defied
 The hosts of Heaven, and ever plagues with woe,
 Seraphs and gods above and men below.
 Crushed are the blest, who roam through Nandan's‡ shade,
 The saint, the seraph, and the heavenly maid.
 We, with the sages, Lord, to thee draw nigh,
 And crave thy succor that the fiend may die.
 Angel and chorister before thee bow;
 Our only hope, O conquering Lord, art thou.
 Arise, O king, regard the world below,
 And slay in fight the gods' tremendous foe."

Thus prayed the children of the sky; the Lord
 Supreme of gods, by all the world adored,
 Thus to the suppliants in answer spake:
 " Fear not, ye sons of heaven, but comfort take;
 Rávan, your terror, by this hand shall fall,
 With son and grandson, lord and captain; all
 His friends and counselors, his kith and kin,
 Shall share his ruin as they share his sin.
Dwelling as man among the sons of men,
 Thus will I triumph o'er the foe, and then
 The while ten thousand seasons roll away,
 Will guard the earth with mine imperial sway."

Then nymph and angel, and the minstrel throng
 With heavenly voices raised the choral song,

* (Qu.: *one* "of four?")

† Dasarath, King of Ayodhya, or Oude, father of Rám.

‡ The Celestial gardens of Indra; Elysium.

And all the region, filled with music, rang
 With lauds to Madhu's * victor, while they sang:
 "Go forth and fight and strike the monster dead,
 The scourge of saints, immortal Indra's dread,
 The fell fiend Rávan, ravener abhorred,
 Slay him and all his race, avenging Lord!
 Then turn triumphant to thy home on high,
 And reign forever in the ransomed sky."

Is it not evident that the writer of the above, no matter when or where or how, had attained to some knowledge of parts at least of the Christian or certainly of the Hebrew Scriptures? It seems hardly possible that without *some* intimation, received in some way, from some source, so clear a parallel to the plan of redemption, wrought out by Christ, could have been seen by any uninspired heathen writer. And if this knowledge was present to the mind of Valmíki, or those from whom he compiled, whence and how came it there? This is the question, and we leave it for others, or for another and more appropriate place than this paper.

If there be a bottomless abyss this side the bottomless abyss, it surely must be Hindu metaphysics, especially as applied to matters of religion; and the system by which it is elaborated is so far removed from that of the inductive philosophy, which, with us, has achieved such wonderful results in the domain of psychology, that the western mind is baffled in its attempt to grapple with that in which the educated oriental mind seems to revel and delight. It *may* be that just that portion which we utterly fail to comprehend is the most finely wrought part of their system, and that thus we do the teachers of Hindu philosophy severe injustice. But this we doubt. The difficulty lies rather in their intermingling and confounding things which the canons of Sir William Hamilton and other western teachers declare must be kept separate and distinct. For a time we move on smoothly, then suddenly sink beyond our depth. The Vedas teach the simplicity and rationalistic unity of the Divine Being: that he not only dwells in light, but *is* light; that he is eternal, self-existent, immutable, perfect, incomprehensible, omniscient, infinitely happy, and the sustainer of all things. Vyas, the author or compiler of the Vedas, asserts that the Supreme Being is the material as well

* A demon slain by Vishnu.

as the efficient cause of the universe ; and, by way of illustration, shows that the human hair and nails, which are insensible, grow from a sensible animal body ; and again, that sentient vermin, as scorpions, centipedes, etc., spring from inanimate sources, ordure, filth, etc. "The sea is one, and not other than its waters, yet waves, spray, drops, and froth differ from each other. So Brahm." The first cause of all is Brahm ; he is represented as inhabiting his own eternity, or, in figurative language—since the coiled serpent is the emblem of eternity—as resting on this emblem. Brahmá is represented as first of created beings, and as springing immediately from the navel or center of the deity. The raw materials of the creation are supposed to be drawn out just as the spider's web is drawn out from itself. Man consists of three parts : one, spirit, which is included in two cases or bodies. The spirit of man is immaterial, and is an essential part of the Supreme Being. The corporeal part of man consists of two bodies—the material gross body, consisting of flesh, blood, bones, etc., and the sublimated body, the counterpart in every thing of the gross, and the vehicle of the spirit when the body dies. By it the consciousness of identity is preserved, and the person recognized after death as before. If the spirit attains to absorption in Brahm, or becomes immured in vile flesh, (as of the lower animals,) this body is supposed to vanish, otherwise it is immortal.

The same authority as above teaches strange doctrines in physics. When nourishment is received into the corporeal frame, it undergoes a threefold distribution, according to its fineness or coarseness ; corn, and other terrene food becomes *flesh*, but the coarse particles are rejected, and the fine nourishes the *mind*. Water is converted into *blood*, the coarser particles are rejected, as urine, etc., the firmer support the *breath*. Oil, etc., becomes *marrow* ; the coarser portion is deposited as bone, and the finer supplies the faculty of *speech*. A hundred and one arteries issue from the heart, one of which passes to the crown of the head. It is along this artery that the liberated soul, whose proper abode is the heart, makes its escape. From the crown of the head it passes along a sun-beam, through various regions to the sun ; thence it proceeds to the moon, *far beyond* the sun. If it is to be rewarded with

absorption, it advances from the moon to the region of lightning, far beyond the moon, thence onward to the region of water, for lightning and thunder are beneath the rain-cloud and aqueous region. At length it arrives at the mansion of Indra. But if the soul has not merited final absorption, it must stop short, subject to transmigration at one or other of the intermediate regions, usually that of the moon; there, clothed with an aqueous form, it receives the recompense of its works, and thence retires to occupy a new body with resulting influence from its former deeds. The returning soul quits its watery frame in the lunar orb, and passes successively through ether, air, vapor, mist, and cloud, into rain, and thus finds its way into a vegetating plant, and thence through the medium of nourishment into an animal embryo!

Let Huxley, Darwin, and others take heart; they are in company with worthy ancients in their recondite researches. But we have wandered from "The Land of the Veda" into the Vedas themselves. Books so ancient and wonderful, having had such an influence in shaping the destiny of so many millions of our race, who for thousands of years have received them as divine, cannot be lightly thrown aside, but should be questioned as to how the good that is in them got there, and condemned only for the bad that so largely abounds.

We note briefly here a few among many points of interest, some of which would give ample scope, not for a brief article only, but for a volume.

Hinduism, or Brahmanism, is not, as commonly supposed, a unit. Under this title there exist two great religious systems, each divided and subdivided almost indefinitely. One, polytheistic and idolatrous, existing for many long ages among the great masses of the people; the other, monotheistic, professed by numbers of the thinking classes, and running through all the gradations between the opposite extremes of spiritual and materialistic pantheism. It is the latter system that has in its later developments so charmed the *liberal* Christianity of the present day—one of whose exponents, after years of unsuccessful missionary labor in trying to teach the Hindoos of Calcutta how their ancient faith is received and preached in Boston, recently became so enamored of the doctrines in their purity, as taught in

the land of the Vedas and Shasters, that he even presented himself for membership in the Brahmo Samáj, and was rudely snubbed for his temerity by his would-be brethren, with Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen, the present chief apostle of that faith, at their head, they refusing him the hand of Brahmo fellowship! This is pitiful. Baboo Keshub, Miss Carpenter, Mr. Dall, and more especially their sympathizers among the liberal Christian clergy of England and Boston, who fondly imagine that they have got down through the uncertain drift of the Old and New Testament records, to what they call "rock bottom," may find, sooner or later, that it is not solid rock at all that is beneath them, but a species of crumbling stone, like brimstone. But the Brahmo Samáj, its members and admirers—Intuitional Deists they call themselves in India, on this side, Liberal Christians—a mere handful, even if we include all in Europe, Asia, and America—have already received extended notice in these pages, and we will only say here that we have less confidence in the leaders, less hope in good being or to be done, and a stronger conviction that pride and ambition are at the bottom of this revival, than many who have written about it. The whole movement may be so overruled as to work mightily for the evangelization of India, but if so, it will not be with the sanction and aid of its present leaders and promoters. Many of these are direct or indirect products of missionary effort, and now they turn around and assume a patronizing air toward Christianity, and superciliously speak of the missionaries who taught them and their fathers as "good, but mistaken men." Although convinced of the truth of Christianity, and having carefully observed that it is the only religion upon the face of the earth with the elements of constant and ultimate success inherent in it, yet refusing to become identified with it, and take their place among the rank and file of Christ's militant millions—lest by so doing they become mere unnoticed ciphers—they prefer to put themselves at the head of a small company, or church, in which enough of the truths and doctrines of the Bible shall be accepted to make their cause powerful for propagandism, and omitting just enough to show the world that it is not Christianity *pur et simple*, namely, the divinity of Christ and a written revelation. And what an omission! With the amount of light they possess, and the good teaching

and example they have had and still have, they may, sooner or later, become identified with the Christian Church; but the testimony of missionaries shows that it is harder to-day for one of them to take this step than for the man just waked from the death stupor of old Hinduism and idolatry.

We are glad the author presents his view, which is, without doubt, the correct one, of the much-misunderstood act of "blowing men from guns." Americans had almost made out a case against the British Government for allowing this "refinement of cruelty," as it was called. Yet it was not cruel; it was not commonly practiced, being the act of only one or two officers, and they were severely censured in the leading English prints at the time. We believe these officers were justified in thus sending terror into the hearts of those who were contemplating like horrid cruelties with those at Cawnpore and Delhi, and guilty of like perfidy. We do not know whether those who have more recently, during the past year, blown mutinous Sepoys from the guns, had the same ground of justification or not. We fear not, and hope not. The whole matter and manner of this strange mode of punishment are little understood, at least in this country. Dr. Butler sets it in the right light. He says:

Who will wonder that the men who stood around the door of the house of massacre, (in Cawnpore, where, by the order of the demon, Nana Sahib, over two hundred Christian women and children—the beautiful and refined wives and children of British officers—were in one hour cruelly put to the sword, or their dead and dying bodies dragged forth and thrown into the well outside,) and gazed upon a sight that no other men had ever seen, and who, as they reflected on all they had themselves so vainly endured to save those whose gory mementoes lay before them, causing those sun-burned soldiers to sob and weep like children; that such soldiers, in such circumstances, should have vowed vengeance against the perpetrators of this matchless cruelty.

Concerning the mode of punishment he says:

I have met with strange assertions, some assuming that the Sepoys were actually *rammed into* the guns, and then fired out! The mode usually was to sink a stake in the ground, and tie the man to it; the gun was behind him, from six to eight feet distant, loaded with *blank cartridge*, and when discharged it dissipated his remains. It was a quick and painless mode of death, for the man was annihilated, as it were, ere he knew that he was struck.

But what the Sepoys objected to in it was the dishonor done to the body, its integrity being destroyed, so that the *shraad*—or funeral ceremony, which all caste Hindus invest with the highest significance, as essential to their having a happy transmigration—could not be performed for them; and thus their disembodied ghosts would, in their opinion, be destined to a wandering, indefinite condition in the other world, a thing which they regard as dreadful.

This mode of punishment was introduced into India by the French during their brief rule in the south. And it certainly had the effect desired during the mutiny year in the north-west. From the hour when General Corbett inflicted it upon twelve ringleaders, who had risen one night and shot their officers, till the fall of Delhi, not a single Sepoy hand was raised against an officer's life.

Dr. Butler's personal reminiscences of the Sepoy rebellion of 1857, and his strange experiences, sad but successful, in founding the missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church in North India, making up as they do a large portion of the book, are chapters of intensest interest, and read like the pages of a finished romance. The sad story of Cawnpore, and the relief of Lucknow by that gallant Christian knight, Sir Henry Havelock, will never lose their interest while the English language is spoken, or while travelers from all parts of the world visit these shrines, made sacred only a few years ago by such a wealth of human agony.

This splendid volume touches upon too many topics of interest to every intelligent reader to admit of a thorough review in an article of ordinary length. Ministers and laymen must secure and read it for themselves. It is being widely read, and has already done more than any other work to stir up an interest in missions, especially those connected with India. The beautiful map of Hindustan given, so small as to be easily consulted, and not cumbrous, with every inch of its surface brimful of statistics, is the best on such a scale ever issued, and is a real help to the study of that great peninsula. Our mission field, with all its central stations, is clearly marked, the extensive railway lines are given, and the different provinces and states neatly colored. The glossary of Indian words, used in this work and in missionary correspondence, is a most desirable addition. It might, perhaps, be somewhat extended,

and a few errors corrected, and for the benefit of those who wish to pronounce the words correctly, a key to the sounds and accents given. We think the author has used Hindustani words in many places throughout the text where they would be better omitted. To the later editions a complete index of all matters touched upon in the work has been added. In future editions we would suggest the correction of frequent clerical, typographical, and other errors, that the work may be a model in every respect.

We had purposed quoting some of Dr. Butler's eloquent passages, such as those found on the twelfth and thirteenth pages and elsewhere, but space forbids. His introduction is a masterpiece of fine writing, and there are many pages throughout the book showing a most facile use of the English language. But the composite character of parts of the work is shown by an unevenness in style, which sometimes falls very far below what it is at its best. We had also designed to refer to the Russian question, and show how missionaries generally do not fear or believe that India is so soon to be in the clutches of the great northern bear, and to give their reasons for thus believing. Then there is that wonderful myth, which has come so opportunely to the aid of many a sermon, of "Jessie Brown" and her "Dinna ye hear the slogan?" a little romance written, Dr. Butler tells us, by a French governess for the amusement of her pupils, finding its way into the Paris and then the English papers, until it has gone around the world. It seems a pity it was not true then and there at Lucknow. Dion Bourcicault and his talented wife have made money out of it, and the world probably will go on believing it, though "the heroine and incident are alike fictitious!"

After reading the "Land of the Veda," many will doubtless not only be awakened and aroused to a genuine missionary enthusiasm to give and labor and pray for the perishing myriads of India's sons and daughters, but some will want to go there. May many more workers rise up and ask to be sent! And now that one may "put a girdle 'round the earth," if not in "forty seconds," yet in a few weeks or months, and as India is being belted from end to end with railways, a stream of travel is setting in in that direction. Every day during the cold season, from October until March, parties of English

and Americans may be seen visiting the sites of memorable events in that strange oriental land—the ruined Residency at Lucknow, the beautiful Memorial Well at Cawnpore, the peerless Taj Mahal at Agra, the wonderful Kootub Minar at Delhi, the highest minaret in the world; tombs and temples, mosques and mausoleums, rock-cut cave temples and ancient ruins, such as India alone can display. Besides this, her oriental pomp and magnificence, her beautiful scenery of tropic and temperate zone, her strange peoples, her grandest mountains, broad and mighty rivers, fertile valleys, populous cities, and all hoary as the Vedas with age. Pity it is that the nine tenths of all these travelers are mere sight-seers or health-seekers, and take hardly sufficient interest in the millions of the lands through which they pass to even call upon the missionary, ask him how his work prospers, and bid him God-speed. Too many prefer to get their impressions of missionary labor and success from godless consuls, merchants, and ship captains, who neither know nor care to know whether the religion of Christ or Mohammed, the faith of Brahman or Buddhist prevails. But we close with the closing thought of Dr. Butler—that the strength and progress of the Church of Christ in India to-day are in encouraging contrast with the weakness and obstructions of the ante-rebellion days:

Already some of our native Christians are rising to positions of great responsibility in the Church, the State, and learned professions. The Maharajah Duleep Singh, its first royal convert, illustrates how its higher classes shall bow to Christ, and devote their influence and wealth to his glory; while Government officers like Behari Lal Singh, and Deputy Magistrates, like Tarini Churn Mitter, prove how worthily public positions can be filled by the followers of that faith. And their descendants shall yet occupy every office of their Government in the glad day when their Ganges shall flow only through Christian realms, and their fertile lands shall be cultured by a happy Christian population, whose redeemed country, no longer the LAND OF THE VEDA, "shall be called by a NEW NAME, which the mouth of the Lord shall name."

ART. IV.—MEDIATION.

ACCORDING to Holy Scripture this world was made by and for the Son of God. Speaking of him under the designation of the Word, St. John says, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made." This is confirmed by St. Paul, who says, (Col. i, 16,) that "By him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in the earth, visible or invisible, whether they be thrones, dominions, principalities or powers; all things were created by him and for him." That is, all things were formed through the unincarnated Son, "whom," it is further stated, (Heb. i, 1,) "God hath appointed heir of all things, and by whom he made the worlds." These statements, by fair interpretation, are to the effect that this world, and the universe, too, so far as we know, were constituted the theater on which the scheme of redemption was to be acted.

From these it is to be deduced, also, that this world was not made for plants nor animals, nor for any thing less than man. Man was the grand archetypal thought of God in the creation; and all processes, and growths, and developments, and preparations upon this earth prior to the coming of man upon it, were but growths and preparations for man as the highest, grandest result of God's work in the creation; for man is a constituted intellect and soul and personality vastly above all other grades of being in this world. He is a free personality, capable, through his freedom, of acts praiseworthy or blameworthy, and thus only capable of making his own happiness or misery. And this capability links him to God and to God's government, and renders this world to him but the beginning of his existence—a border-land merely to another world. An inborn sense of responsibility correlates him to a moral world which in scope is unlimited and in duration never-ending. Perfectly free in the use of his capability and responsibility, he is started in being here with the power to remain holy and happy forever, but with the certainty, as God sees it, that he will not, and thus has God acted with a view to that certainty and provided for it. Thus has He created

all things by and for the Son of God ; and the very fact of this relation of the Son to the creation is evidence, nay, proof, that the worlds were made for mediatorial purposes. If we follow out this thought progressively we shall have occasion to touch upon the need, the method, and some of the successive stages, of Christ's mediatorial work.

As to its necessity, let it be repeated that this world was made for man. All creations and conditions prior to man have their head, their culminating result, in man. Arriving at man in the creative process, conscious personality first appears ; and in this personality appears for the first the capacity of free, objective, independent feeling, judging, and thinking—the likeness to God, in other words, and the only connectional moral link with him which up to this time has come into view. When brought on the stage he stands the representative of the race, the master of the realm of nature, and the arbiter of his own destiny. In his free moral activities are freighted the destinies and the whole possible physical spiritual resources of the world formed to his hand and committed to his keeping. Free-will was the grandest treasure committed to him ; but this he abused, and made himself an outcast—out of harmony with God, and in a state of guilt and misery. He fell from being man as originally intended and made ; that is, from dominion within himself of a free and consciously pure spirit to that of gross selfishness and animalism. He became at once subject to suffering and death. To these he would have been a stranger *forever*, doubtless, had he not fallen. Possibly no changes would have occurred in his case except those of ever-advancing growth and progress in the heavenly life. Death itself, most likely, would not have been experienced. In place of death a glorified transfer only might have taken place. It is not a proof against this that death should necessarily be a human lot, on the ground that inferior creatures were subject to it, because man was placed at the head of the creation, the godlike regent of every thing and every creature below him to be ministered unto by them : they serving thus the chief object and the sole end of their creation. His *status* was the exaltation of his whole triune nature—spirit, soul, and body—into the life of heaven. But whether or not he had been parted from earth, his natural

home was heaven, and unbroken communion with God was his normal, natural experience.

On the other hand, the position, use, and destiny of the lower creatures were wholly of the earth, with no relations higher. They served the purpose intended for them, then gave place to successors of their kind. Death to them was scarcely an evil; it seems rather a beneficent law for them. Suffering and evil cannot in any proper sense be predicated of their condition, because self-consciousness and associated ideas are out of account with the brute creation. Their sensations are moment by moment only, and the dullness or acuteness of sensation with them is proportioned to the grade of their organization.

But man precipitated himself from his high exaltation, and descended quite near to a brotherhood with the brute. Only partial remains are to be found in him of the image of God, the lofty godlike attitude in which he was made. Enough *is* left to give to him a sure consciousness of guilt, and of misery consequent upon guilt. When a being like man, made thus exalted and for such heaven-high purposes, falls, may we not suppose the shock of his fall is felt through the whole kingdom of nature? Is it unreasonable to suppose that the shadow of his misfortune and guilt is cast upon all creatures below him? His guilt, of course, cannot be transferred to them to share; but the anarchy of his character, somehow, gives a wrench to the order and peace of nature, and they surely seem to feel the jar and the disturbance. "The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now." "All the foundations of the earth are out of course." This is more than metaphor. A basis of fact underlies such statements, and it is safe to affirm a significance corresponding to a symbolic cry of sympathy on man's behalf in the sad tones and aspects of nature, animate and inanimate. God utters in them a great natural prophecy of a purposed redemption. He invested man with all the possibilities of an everlasting integrity; but he foresaw that, tampered with by a superior foreign force, man would fail of his integrity, and he provided for exigencies that must follow.

There is foolhardiness in setting up human wisdom against mysteries that hover over these deep subjects. God's thoughts

and plans are not like man's, characterized by successiveness and limitation. Counsels and plans within his spaceless being and timeless eternity are the sweep of one infinite conception, and cover, incomprehensively to us, all possible relations, conditions, exigencies, and acts outside of himself, at a glance. Thus did he, from his own infinitude and eternity, take in, as an ever-present view, the relations, conditions, exigencies, and acts which should transpire with man whom He made through his Son by the word of his infinite will.

Thus much touching the necessity of a divine mediatorial scheme, and it suggests, next in order, an inquiry as to the method of the divine working in the case of man. Wherefore made He the worlds through the Son of God? Let us not be restrained by the unfathomable mysteries pertaining to God in this question. The question involves the *how*, as well as the *why*—which latter has in part been already noticed—and we are compelled at once to waive the seeming metaphysical impossibility of any method existing at all in an absolute Deity. Absoluteness is out of the question. Creation had been impossible if there be no mode of existence in the essence of Deity other than that of absoluteness. God has made beings to whom he stands related; and when he steps forth from the darkness which conceals him and is about to reveal himself in any aspect or fact of his nature, he takes care to prepare minds with notions and presentiments as his forerunners. He has constituted the human soul with felt limitations and wants and unanswered expectations with a precise adjustment to receive announcements and revelations in due time, and to embrace them without surprise or questioning. For example, the suggestion of a trinal personality in Deity as a method of being and action could probably never have originated in the human mind; but when in the Bible the term wisdom is spoken, as in Prov. viii, 1, or the term word, as in the prophets frequently, and more especially in John i, 1, there are to be found stirring in some minds certain presentient ideas of self-appointed or necessary distinctions in the Divine nature which for want of a better name are called personal distinctions. But these were intimations merely, preparing for the reception of the full revelation in due time. That revelation began in Jesus Christ. In himself he was a clear revelation of God to the world, and

when he had risen and spoke to his disciples of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, they asked for no explanations of these mysterious personal distinctions; they found in them a mode of access to God; their presentient wants were met; and they went their way rejoicing, ready at the proper time for still further mighty revelations.

The doctrine of the Trinity, however, solves a difficulty as to the mode in which God exists, and as to the method in which he works, in respect to a mediatorial scheme. The mystery here is not for scholars and philosophers to pry into—the fact announced is a revelation to be received with implicit, child-like trust. A thousand mysteries besides are easily admitted to faith by us simply because they must be. So this mystery must be received, for without it Christianity cannot be comprehended. We certainly do profess our faith in the Trinity when we formulate to our belief the whole ongoing drama of redemption. There is in this, throughout, the demanding by the Father, the performing by the Son, and the appropriating by the Spirit what the Father demands and the Son effects. By a divine method like this our poor weak natures apprehend and come unto God. He could never have been revealed to us, so far as the facts now known can assure us, but for the going forth of the eternal distinctions in his nature of Father, Son, and Spirit. In his absoluteness he must have forever been concealed. He could not have become a Creator; there could not have been any object out of himself to be related to and to love.

The method of creation by the Son, therefore, was a necessity of the divine nature. By the Son, also, every method of procedure in the grand scheme was necessarily mediatorial. A Deity absolute and consequently impersonal, entirely unrelated to distinctions within himself and to creatures outside of himself, with no eternally existing arrangement in himself to put forth power, wisdom, and goodness, is a very forbidding if not an impossible conception, and we cannot trust in it. On the other hand, instead of such an impersonal, metaphysical Being, we do have what seems the clearest revelation of practical, personal distinctions in the Godhead, so answering the preformed, craving sentiments of our nature that we rest in that revelation with supreme satisfaction. Only from hence can we

obtain satisfactory aid to our notions of a competent mediatorship. The nature of sin and the infinite Being whose law is outraged by sin being duly considered, the demand for only a finite mediator to propitiate for us is utterly inadequate. From considerations just named nothing less than a mediator infinite and eternal can satisfy any mind that is heathful, comprehensive, and clear on this subject. And God has met the need of such minds by revealing that in the unity of his essence there do exist the co-equal, co-eternal, consubstantial personal distinctions of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, each officially co-acting in the work of redemption, yet in the creation and in the progress of the redemptive scheme the Son of God, the second person of the one divine essence, is the prominent external figure of the revelation made to man. Nevertheless the whole Godhead therein is exhibited in an administration marked by infinite power, wisdom, and love. Such partially is the method of the divine mediatorial work. The purpose of this discussion is answered without further pursuing this point.

But if the mode in which God exists be that of a divine trinity, and his method in the redemption of man be that of co-active personal distinctions of the one infinite essence, is a divine objective history possible? Most certainly. He surveys his own ordained events as a history external to himself, and there are successive stages and degrees of increment toward a "fullness of time" in that history. There is an unfolding of divine purposes, a successive execution of divine offices, and the bringing forth, in regular order, of subjects, agents, and witnesses of the mediatorial plan.

To human view, the first stage is the catastrophe of sin on the earth, an event foreseen and provided for remedially. A promise ensues of a coming incarnation and a victorious self-offering as a sacrifice for the offending race. "The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head," is a promise also of the great deliverance from the tempter, and victory over the destroyer and over sin. On the support of this promise, good men of the old world lived and died; and Enoch, apprehending its import in full, entered upon the highest walk of faith, and, too holy for that dark and-profligate time, "he was not, for God took him." But while a few thus caught the grand

truth of the redemption, the bulk of the race went down in hopeless idolatry and crime, and the remedy against them for the fortunes of the world was their extinction by a deluge. A single trustworthy family only survived, and the hope of the future through them was that of a higher civilization to be built up by the more advanced principles they had attained from the expansion of the original promise, now more clearly explained and reinforced by additional revelations.

From this epoch "the fullness of time" began to gather perceptible increase, both in richer intellectual and civilizing results from the new peopling of the earth, and in frequent mediatorial communications with men. The promised incarnated One, the Jehovah of the Old Testament, from the beginning figured as the all-ruling Divinity, and theophanies, on fit occasions, transpired to give to waning faith a real substance on which to stand. In the growth of populations, however, the knowledge of the true Jehovah grew dim and the sanctity of the name relaxed, so that a selection from men of true and enduring fidelity to God became a necessary expedient.

Abraham was called and instructed by wonderful processes and providences. With him and from his time dates the giving out, on the part of Jehovah, without such vagueness as previously existed, the germ at least of every Gospel truth which the New Testament contains. And to preserve and develop these truths, as well as to make a visible and definite line for his own incarnation in due time, Jehovah organized Abraham's posterity as his own visible people. After conducting this people through instructive vicissitudes—through sojournings, and famines, and bondage, and desert life, to final organization as a nation—He planted this typical people upon an isolated tract by themselves, almost completely severed from contact with idolatrous civilized nations around. Every thing tended toward typical indications with this people. Their country—the land of Canaan—was itself typical of great spiritual conquests in the future militant and triumphant Church. This location, though not entirely secure, was yet the best for central and prominent position, standing as a bridge to Africa and Asia, and a gateway to Europe as well; and its surroundings of the Lebanon spurs on the north, of the great deserts on the east and south, and of the harborless Mediterranean on the west, served to ren-

der invasion by foreign powers exceedingly difficult. Here were this people under Jehovah's special discipline. Here the Decalogue and the sacrifices and the prophets restrained passion, taught the conscience, and pointed to a priestly, prophetic and royal Messiah. Here at every step the law and the ritual guided, as a schoolmaster, directly to Christ. Here, too, were historic presages—hints, types, moral delineations—of that glorious coming personage. The people in general seemed too stupid or besotted to perceive what was here thus offered to their apprehension; but many good men did see them, and in dim faith waited for the redemption of Israel. Out of these gathered delineations they saw "the King in his beauty," "the Shepherd of Israel," "the Angel of the Covenant," "the King of glory," etc. They saw, too, his humble forerunners. They saw his own lowly birth, his outraged innocence, his violent sufferings, and his deliverance and triumphs, his ultimate victories and rule over the whole earth. Only a glance indeed can be taken now at the many things they did see scattered over all this history.

• The fortunes of this chosen, this typical people became diversified more and more until the close of their history as a nation. They became heedless of their theocratic ruler and of what he claimed from them; they rebelled and fell, then were soon swallowed up and scarcely heard of any more among foreign peoples who made them captives and slaves.

Nevertheless a remnant is restored; the line of the house of David is kept intact in the land; and though the tone of Jewish ideas and worship grows secular and materialistic, though public piety dies out, though formalism and immorality have full sway among the masses, yet the principle of divine selection narrows—a faithful few there are, true descendants and representatives of the family of the promised Holy One, who, though poor and obscure, have never broken allegiance, and the more for their fidelity under such disadvantages are they the deeply loved ones of Jehovah. "In the fullness of time God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law." The fullness of time now comes, and Jehovah, who hitherto has kept Israel under the severe tuition of the law, who has taught the full heinousness of sin and the absolute need of its propitiation by the shedding of blood other than that of bulls and goats,

whose providence over the world in general, and over Israel in particular, in the ages gone by, has been most essentially mediatorial, who has silently governed the ages and the nations till now a uniform civilization and a one national rule spreads over civilized earth, who has ordered the growth of the intellect of the world to such degree that the old religions it has fostered are without power any longer to satisfy—Jehovah, who has brought affairs to a crisis like this, the most momentous in the world's history, has produced a stage where the past is darkness and twilight to the now opening future, lightened by the sun rising to pour its mid-day glory on the ages yet to come.

The Incarnation! Here, indeed, we touch again upon the line at which revealed truth shades off into inaccessible mystery. But if faith shrinks here it may as well shrink at all mysteries with which our hourly existence is bound up; and what we take upon trust in other things may as well be surrendered too, and the vast amount of what we know, obtained only on the basis of trust, must return to blank nothingness.

But however deep the mystery here, a visible occasion now transpires to show that the highest thought we can have is that God is eternal love. By past mediatorial demonstrations we have known that God is power, and the creation is the monument of his power. But above power is love, and God can now fittingly project himself into the mind of the world as Infinite Love by a stupendous act of grace of which Incarnation is the monument. God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son; and he sends him forth to the view of the world—begotten not of man but of the Holy Ghost—born of a woman, indeed, so as to be of our humanity—born of an obscure and lowly maiden in obscure Nazareth, sheltered away there from the corrupting Judaism of the day, quietly solacing herself with the great promises of the house of David.

After the lowly birth, which, by divinely devised incident, occurs at Bethlehem, the city of David; after the flight to Egypt, and thirty years of obedient, industrious life at Nazareth; after his full miraculous investiture of office at the baptismal waters, and his forty days of fasting and temptation in the desert, he entered on his marvelous ministry, "and we beheld his glory"—writes one of his disciples forty years afterward—"we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten

of the Father, full of grace and truth." Who is this mysterious person? "He is the Word made flesh that dwelt among us;" the Incarnate Word, a designation for Jehovah, the infinite personal agent of the Old Testament ages and administration. He is the God-man—of intrinsic necessity such—long prophesied of and long expected—the desire of nations. He is the one that was to come; all history in the past is a prophecy of him. The course of events, human and external, tended toward him. Mind, in its progressive development, unconsciously aspired after him. And when he came humanity found its oneness, and the history of humanity its final cause in him.

Just now his person challenges every-where the most intense interest as never before. Why is this? He has ever ruled the world, and he rules now. Human thoughts and acts are free and unconstrained *entirely*, but when projected he has control of them, and in his use of them they run in lines and on to ends mediatorial. Perhaps the lines cross and recross each other so repeatedly as to end in a reticulated and, to human view, a confused mass; but out of it, by a long elaboration, is evolved a result at length which becomes a great objective thought, striking, no one knows how or why, the mind of the period, and compelling attention to it. In this manner, no doubt, important mediatorial stages and crises occur. May we not have come to a time when the result, wrought in this or in some analogous manner, is the person of Christ as the great objective thought or question of the day? Obviously the question of Christ's person came to some minds with a momentum sudden and unwelcome, and because it could not be beaten back nor evaded, the attention given to it has been reluctant and unfriendly, and the subject has been treated with a criticism of unsparing severity. This has inured to increased interest, and through criticism, *per contra*, to firmer conviction in the infinite divinity of Christ as God-man. Attention is now universally aroused to the words of Christ himself, and the more they are pondered the stronger is the confidence accorded to them.

He ever called himself the Son of man, the meaning of which is found to be that he is the elder brother of the race—in an important sense the head of the race, ordained as the

second Adam to repair the fortunes of the race which the first Adam was seduced to destroy.

He ever called himself no less the Son of God. The attempts in some quarters to make out this a designation of later times is puerile. It is his own designation, and can be denied by no one. This testimony in his own behalf is to be found in the synoptic Gospels as well as in that of John, the date of which is vainly wrested by ruthless criticism from its proper place. He calls himself the Son of God, too, in the absolute sense, the sense implying the relation of essence and nature—not the sense in which men or angels are sometimes so called by virtue of creation or of moral likeness to God. He speaks of his pre-existence—"Before Abraham was, I am." He speaks of his pre-existent glory, "Of the glory which he had with the Father before the world was." He speaks of his oneness with the Father and of his self-revelation of the Father—"No man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son shall reveal him." In numerous statements like these he includes himself in the Godhead, makes himself sharer in the nature of God, and in such sense it is that he calls himself the Son of God. In a single personality, therefore, he is both the Son of man and the Son of God—the *God-man*—Godhead and manhood united in one person.

The irrepressible vanity of human reason clamors against the possibility of such a conception. But why not possible? The authority of Holy Scripture, admitted ever as at least a possible authority, assures that the world and all things were created by him and for him, with reference especially to man. He made man in his own image, with the purpose that he should receive God into his nature and have him for the indwelling object of his thoughts and desires, and of his whole inner life. Since this indwelling object has been lost from the soul of the race, in all parts of the earth there has been an indefinite craving for it; there has been at least an ignorant seeking for something, an earnest but often grievously mistaken aim for the real thing that should meet the real moral wants of man. Every-where, and in all ages, heathenism has illustrated the cry of Job, "O that I knew where I might find him, that I might come even to his seat!" and all fitting is it that out of things possible with God the fullness

of the Godhead should dwell bodily with Jesus, in order that from his fullness man should receive grace upon grace. The possibility of Incarnation, therefore, seems required by the nature and wants of the human race. Added to this, not the possibility alone, but the necessity of the incarnation is required as a measure on God's part by which to project from himself impulses of condescension and love in behalf of man. The Incarnation of the Son of God becomes, hence, a postulate of which the human soul cannot be deprived. The relation between man's absolute wants and the proceeding by which they are to be met on the part of man's Creator, fixes a necessity that can be answered only by incarnation. The soul's remedy for its deep-down darkness and guilt could not be met but by a Redeemer as much man as God, as much God as man, both natures in one accessible, sympathizing, omnipotent Person.

And such was Jesus Christ, the Son of God, in the fullness of time sent forth, made of a woman, that is, begotten of the Holy Ghost, but born of and from our nature. He was made also under the law, was of the Old Testament dispensation, but at its summit, and all the prophetic, priestly, and kingly elements centralized and terminated in him. It is a mistake to suppose law and grace dis severed, the latter merely supplementing the former. The system of the Gospel, indeed, is at the foundation of that of law. Law and grace are inseparably and eternally one. But law in its ritualistic character is an expedient—the schoolmaster pointing, in all its observances and restrictions, to Christ and his salvation. Justification under the law was impossible except through faith in the Christ, the world's great sacrifice, of whom all sacrifices in the Old Testament are but the one and ever continuous type.

Abundantly he magnified and made honorable the law, for no teacher on earth ever rescued the law so searchingly from false glosses that had been put upon it. He kept it perfectly himself; he was not chargeable with the least sin, nor had he the least taint of it; and, after two or three years of indefatigable labor, of teaching, and beneficence, he submitted to die upon the cross, an instrument of torture and death inflicted only on malefactors and slaves. But he went willingly to death, though the preliminary suffering, and that endured on the cross, were doubtless such as fall not within the imagina-

tion to conceive. In the midst of it, however, he prayed for his persecutors; proclaimed pardon and a place in his kingdom to the thief, his fellow-sufferer; commended his mother to the disciple whom he loved; and was to the last a completed revelation of love. The waves of wrath for man's sin were going over him, but perfectly unsullied remained his mighty integrity as the God-man. He sought propitiation, and shrank not from unheard-of agony to accomplish it. He yielded his life, but by his own power resumed it on the third day, as he had predicted; and in glorified visitations taught his disciples forty days, then ascended above into the holy of holies, man's High Priest and King forever. Never need men to suffer want of his companionship and aid, for he said, as he went up, "I am with you alway, even to the end of the world." Never need they lack the atonement of any, the darkest sin, for he has completed all in himself, and is forever in his own person Priest, Altar, Victim, Mercy-Seat.

ART. V.—JEPHTHAH'S VOW.

It may seem bootless to add another essay to the discussion of a subject on which volumes have been already written; but a large proportion of the expositions of Jephthah's vow most commonly accessible, advocate a theory which it is the purpose of the present article to controvert, and it is only by repeated investigations that many disputed passages of Holy Writ will be likely to reach a final settlement. In the October number of this Quarterly for 1855 appeared an article maintaining that Jephthah never meant to vow a human sacrifice to the Lord, and did not offer his daughter as a burnt-offering, but consecrated her to a life of perpetual celibacy. It is proper that the same Review contain as full and fair a presentation of the other side of the question.

The writer of the article referred to correctly resolves the various expositions of Judges xi, 29-40, into two opposing theories, that of *immolation* and that of *consecration*. According to the one Jephthah literally sacrificed his daughter as a burnt-offering to Jehovah; according to the other the daugh-

ter was not put to death at all, but was made a sort of vestal virgin, a female Nazarite for life, and thus set apart to a state of perpetual virginity. The advocates of this latter theory have never, so far as we are aware, claimed in support of their exposition the literal and most obvious import of the sacred narrative. They have quite generally admitted, that were it not for inherent difficulties all readers would naturally adopt the theory of immolation. But they contend that Jephthah must have known that human sacrifices were an abomination to Jehovah, and that his faith and piety, as extolled by an apostle in Heb. xi, 32, were incompatible with his offering a human sacrifice; and further, that the prominence given in verses 37 and 39 to the fact of her *virginity* is to serve as the clue to a correct interpretation of the whole passage. Hence the literal and obvious import of the Scripture history is set aside because of supposed inherent difficulties.

The gist of the whole question rests chiefly on the exposition of two verses, 31 and 39; but the entire section is involved in the discussion, and should be placed before the reader's eye. The English version is as follows:

²⁹ Then the Spirit of the Lord came upon Jephthah, and he passed over Gilead and Manasseh, and passed over Mizpeh of Gilead, and from Mizpeh of Gilead he passed over unto the children of Ammon. ³⁰ And Jephthah vowed a vow unto the Lord, and said, If thou shalt without fail deliver the children of Ammon into my hands, ³¹ Then it shall be, that whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of Ammon, shall surely be the Lord's, and I will offer it up for a burnt-offering. ³² So Jephthah passed over unto the children of Ammon to fight against them: and the Lord delivered them into his hands. ³³ And he smote them from Aroer even till thou come to Minnith, even twenty cities, and unto the plain of the vineyards, with a very great slaughter. Thus the children of Ammon were subdued before the children of Israel. ³⁴ And Jephthah came to Mizpeh unto his house, and behold, his daughter came out to meet him with timbrels and with dances: and she was his only child; besides her he had neither son nor daughter. ³⁵ And it came to pass, when he saw her, that he rent his clothes, and said, Alas, my daughter! thou hast brought me very low, and thou art one of them that trouble me: for I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, and I cannot go back. ³⁶ And she said unto him, My father, if thou hast opened thy mouth unto the Lord, do to me according to that which hath proceeded out of thy mouth; forasmuch as the Lord hath taken vengeance for thee of thine ene-

mies, even of the children of Ammon. ³⁷ And she said unto her father, Let this thing be done for me: Let me alone two months, that I may go up and down upon the mountains, and bewail my virginity, I and my fellows. ³⁸ And he said, Go. And he sent her away for two months: and she went with her companions, and bewailed her virginity upon the mountains. ³⁹ And it came to pass at the end of two months that she returned unto her father, who did with her according to his vow which he had vowed: and she knew no man. And it was a custom in Israel, ⁴⁰ that the daughters of Israel went yearly to lament the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite four days in a year.

Let us, first of all, carefully examine the language of the vow; for if the judge of Israel kept his word, and, as verse 39 declares, did with his daughter according to his vow, it is all important that the exact import of that vow be ascertained, and every possible construction of its words be fully weighed.

The English version, "*Whatsoever* cometh . . . I will offer *it*," is possible, but is here scarcely correct. The Hebrew *הַיֹּצֵא אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא*, is literally, *The one coming forth who comes forth*, and therefore *whosoever* would convey the exact sense of the original better than *whatsoever*, and the corresponding *it* would naturally be rendered *him*. This rendering, however, is supported more by the immediate context than by any thing in the Hebrew that necessarily requires it. Keil says:*

Going out of the doors of his house to meet him, is an expression that does not apply to a herd or flock driven out of the stall just at the moment of his return, or to any animal that might possibly run out to meet him. For the phrase *go out to meet* is only applied to men in the other passages in which it occurs. Moreover, Jephthah no doubt intended to impose a very difficult vow upon himself. And that would not have been the case if he had merely been thinking of a sacrificial animal. Even without any vow, he would have offered, not one, but many sacrifices after obtaining a victory. If, therefore, he had had an animal sacrifice in his mind, he would certainly have vowed the best of his flocks. From all this there can be no doubt that Jephthah must have been thinking of some human being as at all events included in his vow.

One clearly untenable construction of this verse is that which gives the suffix pronoun *him* (הִי) a dative sense, and refers it to the Lord. Thus, *I will offer HIM* (that is, the

* "Keil and Delitzsch's Commentary on Judges," translated for "Clark's Foreign Theological Library," by James Martin. Page 385. Edinburgh. 1868. This quotation may have the more weight with some, from the fact that this eminent critic and scholar rejects the theory of immolation.

Lord) a *burnt-offering*. In this case the vow is made to contemplate two things: (1) a person to be consecrated to Jehovah, and (2) the additional offering of a burnt sacrifice. Such a construction, however, would be a solecism in Hebrew. If that were the meaning, how natural and easy to have used the common expression $\text{לְהִי$, *to him*. The cases referred to by Gesenius, where the suffix to the verb is supposed to be used for the dative, (Zech. vii, 5; Job xxxi, 18; Ezek. xxix, 3, 9,) are capable of a different explanation, and he himself remarks that they are instances of "an almost inaccurate brevity of expression." In each of the cases referred to the suffix is of the first person, and is therefore capable of a more reflexive rendering than would be possible in a case, like the one in our passage, of the third person. The same distinguished philologist thus states the rule of grammar here involved: "The suffix to the verb is, properly, always the accusative, and is the most common form of expressing the accusative of the pronoun."* In 2 Kings iii, 27, where it is said the King of Moab took his eldest son and *offered him a burnt-offering upon the wall*, we have precisely the same construction. Compare also 1 Sam. vii, 9. This exposition, therefore, though having the support of some distinguished names, and commended by Bishop Lowth, as having "perfectly cleared up a difficulty which for two thousand years had puzzled all the translators and expositors," must, on critical grounds, be set aside as utterly untenable.

Another attempt to explain away the ordinary sense of one of the words of this verse is Keil's "spiritual interpretation" of הִקְרִיב , a *burnt-offering*. He says "that no exactly corresponding parallelism can be adduced from the Old Testament in support of the spiritual view," but "there were persons in Israel who dedicated their lives to the Lord at the sanctuary by altogether renouncing the world, and there can be no doubt that Jephthah had such a dedication as this in his mind when he uttered his vow." This is a most pompous begging of the question, and unworthy of the distinguished commentator, who is usually so careful and discreet. But he proceeds: "The word הִקְרִיב does not involve the idea of burning, like our word burnt-offering, but simply

* Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, translated by Conant. Page 216. New York. 1861.

that of going up upon the altar, or of complete surrender to the Lord. *זֶבֶחַ* is a whole offering, as distinguished from the other sacrifices, of which only a part was given to the Lord. When a virgin, therefore, was set apart as a spiritual *זֶבֶחַ*, it followed, as a matter of course, that henceforth she belonged entirely to the Lord; that is to say, was to remain a virgin for the remainder of her days.* It will not be claimed that, etymologically, there is any thing in the word *זֶבֶחַ* that conveys the idea of burning; but what avails this statement in the face of the fact that, according to the Hebrew *usus loquendi*, *זֶבֶחַ*, elsewhere always designates a burnt-offering, or, in the language of both Gesenius and Fürst, a "sacrifice to be wholly consumed." Much that Keil advances will seem very plausible to some; but so far as it goes toward setting aside the common meaning of the word *זֶבֶחַ*, it will be accepted by few. There is a manifest striving after something which the Scripture nowhere offers, and a prodigious effort to get rid of the common meaning of an oft-recurring word. When the critic himself admits that the word in question has nowhere else such a meaning as he would put upon it, he virtually yields all argument, and gives us mere assumption and assertion.

Another and very popular rendering of this verse is that given in the margin of our English version, and supported by many commentators, which takes the conjunction Vav (ו) in a disjunctive sense, and reads, *Shall be the Lord's, OR I will offer it up for a burnt-offering.* The import of the vow would then be, as Kinchi and others have paraphrased it, "I will offer it for a burnt-offering if it be fit for such a purpose; or, if not fit for that, I will consecrate it to the Lord."† So popu-

* Keil and Delitzsch's *Commentary*, *in loco*. Substantially the same view is maintained by Hengstenberg in his *Genuineness of the Pentateuch*, (Dissertation IV,) and also by Paulus Cassel in Lange's *Bibelwerk*. But such a deep spiritual sense of burnt-offerings as this passage would involve was alien to the age of the Judges. Every passage cited in Hengstenberg's Dissertation on this subject fails most signally to help his argument. (Hos. xiv, 2; Psa. xl, 7-9; li, 17; cxix, 108.) Take, for instance, the passage oftenest quoted, Psa. li, 16, 17, where the spiritual idea of sacrifices in general is expressed, and the sacrifice of a broken and contrite heart, so far from being identified with *burnt-offering*, is put in direct opposition to it.

† A writer in the "American Biblical Repository" (for January, 1843) devotes an entire article to the defense of this interpretation.

lar and so commonly received is this exposition in some quarters, that it demands a thorough and extended examination.

That the Hebrew Vav, (ו,) like the Greek *καί*, the Latin *et*, and the same particle in other languages, may in a general sense be said to have various meanings, or shades of meaning, according as it is explanatory or adversative, and in translation may be better represented by some other word or words than *and*, no one will question; but to say that Vav ever properly signifies *or*, or *nor*, is to hazard a most uncritical and untenable assertion. In his exposition of Jephthah's vow, Dr. Hales affirms, that "the paucity of connecting particles in the Hebrew language made it necessary that this conjunction (ו) should often be understood disjunctively." But this writer, and others who have made the like unfounded assertion, would have done well to tell us what use the Hebrews made of their common and proper disjunctive *וְאִם*, which is used more than a hundred times in the Old Testament in the sense of *or*.

Let us examine the passages in which it is claimed that Vav must be rendered disjunctively. The examples ordinarily adduced are the following. Exod. xii, 5: "Ye shall take it out from the sheep *or* from the goats." But here the rendering *or* is not necessary. The sense is that the sheep *and* the goats were the animals from which they were to select the paschal lamb, and the Hebrew idiom did not require the further and more minute specification that in case they found not a proper lamb among the sheep, they might take one from among the goats. Exod. xxi, 17: "He that curseth his father *or* his mother," Gesenius thus explains: "Here the verb refers not to one *or* the other, but to both; he that curseth his father *AND* he that curseth his mother," etc. The same may be said of other similar passages. Take next a negative construction. The Hebrew of Lev. xxvii, 28, (a passage often cited as proof that Vav means *or*.) is not literally as the English version expresses it, "No devoted thing . . . shall be sold *or* redeemed," but "Every devoted thing . . . *shall not be sold AND shall not be redeemed.*" The *וְאִם*, *not*, is repeated in the second sentence.

The above cited passages represent all the cases that are commonly adduced in evidence of the disjunctive sense of Vav, and of all it may be easily shown that the Hebrew idiom required no such construction as these writers pretend. That

the general sense of the Hebrew may in some of those passages be more simply put into idiomatic English by means of a disjunctive construction may be readily granted, but this is a very different thing from admitting that *and* sometimes means *or*. And least of all is it permissible to bring in such unparallel passages to fix the sense of Vav in the simple and positive phraseology of Jephthah's vow. The absurdity will be at once apparent if we attempt to render disjunctively any of the *ands* in the language of Jacob's vow at Bethel, (Gen. xxviii, 20-22,) or that of Hannah at the Tabernacle, (1 Sam. i, 11.)

But what do the great masters in Hebrew philology say on this subject? The late Moses Stuart, that American Cypheus in Hebrew scholarship, in making certain strictures on a geological dissertation of Professor Edward Hitchcock, in which it is affirmed "that Vav discharges the functions of all the conjunctions, both copulative and disjunctive," makes the following caustic remarks: *

The conjunction Vav discharging all the functions of both the copulative and disjunctive conjunctions in the Hebrew language! Are there any of the megalosauri, iguanodons, or mastodons of geology that exceed the magnitude of such a conjunction? Vav has often been called a Proteus before by many who found it difficult to trace out and recognize all its features; but never before was I aware that this Proteus had become so large as to cover more ground than Typhæus of old. "But Michaelis," we are told, "gives it thirty-seven significations; and Noldius upward of seventy." Be it so; any one who knows fully the fashion of Michaelis' philology will wonder that he stopped short of twice that number; and as for Noldius, this is quite a matter of moderation in him. Good Father Schleusner has in like manner no less than thirty-two meanings for *kai*, the corresponding Greek particle in the New Testament, besides another head of "*haud raro abundat*," and another of "*interdum deficit*." Examples of such unbounded license in making out meanings for words, and such undistinguishing descriptions of the use of words, may be found in many of the older critics, as often and as easily as the art of making gold among the old alchemists, or composing spells to drive away evil spirits among the enchanters. And, by the by, they are entitled to about as much credit.

The opinion of Gesenius is thus given in his Hebrew Lexicon: "That Vav is put as a disjunctive between words is hardly supported by a single probable example; those usually

* In the "Biblical Philosophy" for January, 1836, page 61.

referred hither not requiring such a signification." But to this statement his learned translator, Dr. Edward Robinson, appends the remark that in 1 Kings xviii, 27, "it is difficult to avoid the disjunctive sense of Vav," and notes the fact that in his Lexicon under וַי Gesenius himself admits for that passage this disjunctive sense. That one passage in Kings, then, would seem to have been the only one on which these eminent Hebraists wavered, for they give no intimation of any other instance where it is "difficult to avoid the disjunctive sense of Vav." Surely, then, they would never have presumed to teach that this particle is to be taken as a disjunctive in the simple fiction of Jephthah's vow.

But let us turn to 1 Kings xviii, 27, as the ground of final appeal, and examine the "difficulty." The English version is, "Cry aloud: for he is a god; either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is in a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awaked." This, doubtless, gives the general sense of the original; but is it possible that Dr. Robinson accepted it as giving the literal and exact import of the Hebrew? If so, here surely was an instance where for once *good Homer dozed*. Nothing is plainer, on a careful examination of the original, than that the several sentences after *cry aloud* are given ironically, as so many reasons why the Baal worshippers should cry aloud. Literally and accurately the verse is thus to be rendered and explained: *Cry with a great voice*; [your god needs a mighty noise to call his attention to these parts, where his interests are sadly at stake!] *because he is God*: [he is, of course, the supreme Deity!] *because* [not either; here is no Vav at all, but simply the causal particle וַי,] *he is talking*; [or as the margin, *he meditateth*, he is, forsooth, in a brown study, and just now knows nothing else!] *and because* [not *or*, for that fails to bring out the causal sense here prominent; an additional reason is given, equivalent to *and furthermore, because*] *he has gone aside*; [or, more strictly, *a withdrawing is to him*; a euphemism for going aside at a call of nature; as in Judg. iii, 24: "He covereth his feet in the summer chamber,"] *and because he is on a journey*; [gone traveling, and ought to be called home again to take care of his worshippers, who are greatly distressed by his absence!] *perhaps* [here again is no Vav, but simply וַיִּשָּׁן,] *he is asleep and should be*

awaked. How is it to be shown that in this passage Vav must necessarily be rendered by *or*? We challenge any critic to show error or incorrectness in our translation and exposition of the passage, and if our rendering is true to the exact import of the Hebrew, then certainly there is here no "difficulty in avoiding the disjunctive sense of Vav." And this appears to be the final instance of appeal to Hebrew usage, and we may, therefore, safely deny that Vav ever has the meaning of the disjunctive *or*. So fully settled does this question seem to be in the mind of Dr. Julius Fuerst, the latest, and in some respects the highest, authority in Hebrew Lexicography, that in his Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon he ignores the whole controversy, and gives no intimation that Vav was ever believed to have the sense of the disjunctive *or*. He who, in view of all the facts in the case, would contend for the disjunctive sense of Vav, might about as well say that ו means וְ, and καὶ means ἔ, and *et* means *aut*, and our English *and* means *or*! Only in this way the absurdity becomes too apparent to be defended.

We must, therefore, conclude that the marginal reading of Judges xi, 31, OR *I will offer*, etc., and all expositions of Jephthah's vow based on such reading are false and misleading, and should be utterly repudiated by all who are unwilling to be superficial in criticism, or hasty and careless in forming their opinions.

It follows, then, that the only translation of the language of Jephthah's vow that will bear the test of criticism is substantially the following: "Whosoever comes forth from the doors of my house to meet me when I return in peace from the sons of Ammon shall be for Jehovah, and I will offer him for a burnt-offering." Jephthah did not utter his vow in the heat of battle, nor in a moment of confusion. If he meant any part of it to be conditional, or contemplated diverse methods of fulfilling it, the Hebrew language did not lack words by which to express precisely his intention. How, then, can we avoid the conviction that in using the language given above he had a human being in his mind? What else could he expect to come out of the doors of his house to meet him? Surely not a cow, nor a sheep, nor a goat,* nor a herd of these animals, for

* So Augustine, as quoted in Keil: "He did not vow in these words that he would offer some *sheep*, which he might present as a holocaust, according to the

their place was not in his *house*, nor would they be thought of as *coming out to meet him*. And surely not a dog, or any other unclean animal. No animal, clean or unclean, would be designated with such lofty emphasis and deep solemnity as appear in the wording of this vow. "Quid enim esset," says Pfeiffer, "si magnus quispiam Princeps vel archistrategus diceret: Deus! si hanc mihi victoriam concesseris, vitulus primus, qui mihi occurrerit, tuus erit!"* How strange it would be if some great prince or general should say, "O God, if thou wilt grant me this victory, the first calf that comes to meet me shall be thine!" Well might he add the Horatian proverb, "Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus!" Every feature of the passage indicates that Jephthah consciously vowed the sacrifice of a human being, and the tremendous force and awful solemnity of the vow appear in the very fact that not a common offering, but a human sacrifice is pledged, and the victim is to be taken from the members of his own household.

Having reached this decision as to the meaning of Jephthah's vow, we must next deal with the fancied *crux interpretum*, how the offering of a human sacrifice was compatible with Jephthah's faith, piety, and knowledge of the law of Moses. The question is a fair one, and demands a fair reply; and a careful inquiry into the real character of Jephthah's faith and piety, and the probable extent of his acquaintance with the law, will not only help to a proper understanding of this much disputed subject, but will also lead to an exposure of many unfounded notions of the sanctity and moral purity of several distinguished personages of that olden time.

We first examine the Scripture evidences of Jephthah's faith and piety. The assumption that his victory over Ammon was given as a sign from heaven that God approved his vow will hardly be urged by any respectable divine. As well might one assume that Saul's rash vow (1 Sam. xiv, 24) brought vic-

law. For it is not, and was not, a customary thing for sheep to come out to meet a victorious general returning from the war. Nor did he say, I will offer as a holocaust *whatever* shall come out of the doors of my house to meet me; but he says, 'Whoever comes out I will offer *him*;' so that there can be no doubt whatever that he had then a human being in his mind."

* *Augusti Pfeifferi Dubia Vezata. De Voto et Facto Jephthae.* Page 356.

tory to Israel's arms that day when Jonathan offended. We quote with approval the remarks of Bush : *

The public interest of the whole Jewish people was more regarded in the bestowment of the victory than the private hopes or wishes of Jephthah. We see no reason to doubt that the result would have been the same with the same means, even had no vow whatever been uttered. Moreover, it is a high presumption in weak mortals to read in the events of Providence a proof that God makes himself a party to compacts of their own voluntary proposing, let them be ever so well intended. His counsels are a great deep, and it is at our peril that we put such unauthorized constructions upon his dispensations.

The following is Clarke's assumption : "He could not commit a crime which himself had just been an executor of God's justice to punish in others."† A most unwarrantable assertion to put in the face of history, which again and again records how God used idolators themselves to punish Israel for adopting their own idolatry. And did not Gideon, after having been commissioned to overthrow idolatry in Israel, set up a gorgeous ephod in Ophrah which became a snare to his own house, and to all Israel? Did not God inspire Solomon to write and speak in the strongest terms against the very sins into which he afterward so foully plunged? Strange assumption, that God could not raise up to eminence and power and use a bold freebooter of the border to punish the sins of the children of Ammon !

But it is urged that according to verse 29, "the Spirit of the Lord came upon Jephthah ;" and it seems to be assumed that this expression is substantially identical with the New Testament "gift of the Holy Ghost," and implies the possession of great spiritual purity of heart and life. The fallacy of this position will be seen by examining and comparing the connection in which the expression is elsewhere used in the Book of Judges. In chapter iii, 10, it is used in connection with Othniel's judging and going to war ; in vi, 34, with Gideon's blowing the trumpet to assemble the people for battle ; in xiii, 25, with Samson's occasional feats of strength in early life ; in xiv, 6, with his rending a lion ; in xiv, 19, with his slaughter of thirty Philistines ; and in xv, 14, with his breaking the cords by which he was bound, and slaying a thousand men with the jaw-bone of an ass. In all these passages it is

* Bush's "Notes on Judges," *in loco*.

† "Clarke's Commentary," *in loco*.

clear beyond controversy that the Spirit of the Lord coming on the judges is to be understood of the *mental and physical power* with which they were specially qualified for performing signal acts of valor. Not in a single instance is the idea of personal holiness, in the New Testament sense, necessarily involved at all. The Spirit of the Lord also came upon Saul at Ramah, when he had murder in his heart, and he stripped off his clothes and fell down "and prophesied before Samuel, and lay down all that day and all that night," (1 Sam. xix, 24;) but will any one argue from that fact the eminent saintliness of Saul? In Jephthah's case the expression in question refers *not to his vow*, but to his military march against the children of Ammon. See verse 29. It is no more said, as stating a cause and its effect, that "the Spirit of the Lord came upon Jephthah and he vowed this vow," than it is said that "the Spirit came upon Samson and he went in unto Delilah." Of this expression, as used in the Book of Judges, we may safely say with Bush: "It simply implies the divine bestowment of remarkable gifts, whether *physical* or *intellectual*, for the performance of a particular work, or the discharge of a particular office. The endowments indicated by it were seated rather in the head and the body than in the heart, so that, taken by itself, it affords us no clue to the *moral character* or *actions* of the subject of it."

It is also argued, sometimes with an air of assurance that would seem to put an end to all controversy, that an inspired writer of the New Testament in Heb. xi, 32, *commends Jephthah's faith*. Granted; but be it noted that the inspired writer *does not commend Jephthah's vow*. Mark his words: "The time would fail me to tell of Gideon, and Barak, and Samson, and Jephthah; David also, and Samuel, and the prophets." What part or act of their lives, now, shall we suppose this verse commends? All they ever did, or said, or were? Then must we include Barak's cowardice and distrust of God's word, and Gideon's idolatry and polygamy, and Samson's intercourse with the harlot of Gaza, and David's lies, and adultery, and murder of Uriah—all as furnishing the ground of the apostle's praise?

The writer of the Hebrews goes on through the six following verses to specify particular instances of faith which distin-

guished the ancient worthies, but in all his allusions there is not an instance which can with any rational probability be made to mean the consecration of one's daughter to perpetual celibacy. Did it ever occur to the advocates of the consecration theory, that for a father to doom his daughter, in the bloom of her youthful beauty, to a life of seclusion and celibacy, and thus rob her of all the honors and joys of Hebrew womanhood, could scarcely be the ground of an apostle's commendation? The only specifications which naturally allude to Jephthah's case are in verse 34: "Waxed valiant in fight," and "turned to flight the armies of the aliens;" and these may include other cases besides Jephthah. They certainly may refer to his march against the Ammonites, and the victory with which God crowned his arms; but who will contend that they must also include all he said and did during that war, or before and after it? This would be even more absurd than to contend that God gave him the victory to show his divine approval of his vow.

The faith and piety of those ancient worthies, often so noticeably deep and admirable, was at the same time compatible with many sins of ignorance and error. The faith of the harlot Rahab, likewise extolled in the Epistle to the Hebrews, was compatible with what the ethics of the New Testament would pronounce a life of shame and an act of falsehood. Jephthah's vow, as we view it, was an act at once of mighty faith and fearful ignorance. The King of Moab's offering of his son for a burnt-offering was unquestionably an act of piety; and the Hindoo suttee, who immolates herself on the funeral pile of her dead husband, gives an example of profoundest faith. The spirit of all these acts of faith, as viewed from the stand-point of the worshiper, is one thing, and their moral quality, as seen in the light of Jehovah's law, is quite another. From our Christian stand-point we cannot commend or admire the vow of Jephthah, and numerous fearful acts of heathen devotees. We rather shudder at them. But we cannot and must not ignore and deny the spirit of exalted faith and piety which underlies them all. The correctness of one's doctrinal opinions is no sure criterion of his heart's faith in God. The Lord Jesus found more than once among the Gentiles a faith unparalleled in Israel.

We suppose that it is not a strange doctrine, nor a commonly rejected notion, but rather the position of the ablest divines, that great faith and most ardent piety are compatible with exceedingly gross and erroneous apprehensions of God and religious worship. Whedon says :*

The reason may not reveal a Creator in the fullness of his attributes, nor even prevent the worship of a God through finite symbols and images, which the Scriptures, given for the very purpose of maintaining the pure idea of the Deity, prohibit as *idolatry*, under severest penalty, especially to the chosen race, whose special mission was the preservation of the pure idea for the development of future ages. The conscience may not furnish an absolutely accurate code of ethics ; but it furnishes principles which are *relatively to the individual* right, and safe in the eye of God *for him* to follow. . . . Such a man will act under many a sad delusion, and commit many things intrinsically wrong ; but the saving fact is that he acts with a *purpose* which *wants but the light of truth* in order to his being truly right.

The question, then, of Jephthah's faith and piety need not be further entertained. All remaining difficulty turns upon his supposed knowledge of Jehovah's law. The law said : "Thou shalt not let any of thy seed pass through the fire to Molech, neither shalt thou profane the name of thy God." Lev. xviii, 21. Comp. Lev. xx, 2 ; Deut. xii, 13, 18, 10. Who can believe, it is asked, that Jephthah, a judge of Israel, with these passages of the Pentateuch before him, could vow to sacrifice a member of his own family a burnt-offering to the Lord ?

Let it be observed, that at this point the whole controversy turns upon a *supposition*. The opinion that Jephthah knew human sacrifices to be abominable in the sight of God has, so far as we are aware, nothing to support it but the bare *supposition* that a judge of Israel must needs have been acquainted with all the laws of Moses. And yet this supposition has been the main strength of the consecration hypothesis. Take this away, and the other arguments which have been brought to its support would hardly have been urged.

But is this supposition supported by any certain evidences ? We propose to raise over against it certain counter *suppositions*, and then inquire whose suppositions are best sustained by

* "Whedon on the Will," page 348.

Scripture evidence. Suppose, then, on the other hand, that Jephthah had no knowledge of these commandments of the law. Suppose that in that loose and degenerate period thousands in Israel had lost all knowledge of many of the precepts of the law. Suppose that Jephthah, early exiled from his father's house, had fostered in his heart prejudices against the whole religious *cultus* of the Hebrews. Suppose that in his wild border life, as chieftain of a lawless band of warriors, he had seen and known as much of Ammonitish as of Israelitish worship. Suppose that the most of his knowledge of Israelitish worship had been learned when Israel had forsaken the Lord, and was given over to the service of "Baalim and Ash-taroath, and the gods of Syria, and the gods of Zidon, *and the gods of Moab, and the gods of the children of Ammon.*" Judg. x, 6. Suppose, in view of all these facts, that he had never learned to distinguish or appreciate the difference between the Israelitish and heathen systems of religion,* and hence knew not but the God of Israel would be pleased with a human sacrifice as well as the gods of Moab and Ammon.

Now these, we grant, are *suppositions*, but they are brought to bear against a counter *supposition* not half so well supported. We propose to show that the Scripture account of Jephthah's life is so far from affording any evidence of his extended acquaintance with the law, that it gives on the contrary several intimations, from which our suppositions made above flow forth as most natural inferences.

First of all the fact, which the Book of Judges surely makes no secret, that that was a loose, lawless, and degenerate period of Hebrew history. "There was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes." Judg. xvii, 6. Compare chap. ii, 16-19 and 21, 25. The repeated rebellions, the multiplied idolatry, the strange, dark fact that Gideon, after all his revelations and blessings from Jehovah, made a costly ephod for all Israel to go whoring after, the story of Micah's idols, together with all the incidents of violence and blood recorded, show fully enough that whatever knowledge of the Law still lingered in some quarters, its precepts sat lightly upon the masses of the people. There is evidence that

*"In his reply to the Ammonites he seems to recognize their god Chemosh as a co-ordinate power with Jehovah," (verse 24.) Wordsworth's Commentary, *in loco*.

the Pentateuch was in existence, but equal or greater evidence that its moral precepts were little studied or observed.* The statute of Deut. xxxi, 10-13, requiring the public reading of the Law before all Israel once in seven years, had probably fallen into neglect, and if not, the tribes east of the Jordan would hardly have gone to hear, and least of all Jephthah.

Another fact, not to be overlooked in this argument, is Jephthah's early exile from his father's house. He was the son of a harlot, and when his father's lawful sons grew up they thrust him out of their inheritance, and he fled to the land of Tob which bordered on the Ammonitish territory. The elders of the eastern tribes appear to have had some hand in this expulsion of Jephthah, (comp. chap. xi, 7, 8,) and all this might have gone very far to prejudice the young exile against the religion and customs of the Hebrew State, and to make him care little for any religion. Add to this the notable fact that about the time of his expulsion the multiplied idolatry described at chap. x, 6, must have been at its height in Israel. In addition to adopting and serving the gods of nearly all the nations around them, they went so far as to serve even "the gods of Moab, and the gods of the children of Ammon." To what extent they worshiped Chemosh and Molech we are not told; and yet some critics, while forced to admit that the people had most wretchedly sunken into idolatry, urge that we find no trace of human sacrifice among them. We may leave the impartial student of history to judge whether it is clear and safe to say that, while they apostatized from Jehovah, and openly served those gods whose most signal honor was the offering of human sacrifices, they never, even in a single instance, served them with that special honor. How baseless, too, is the assertion of Alexander,† that "it is not until idolatry had taken firm hold of the Israelites that we find such sacri-

* Jephthah's message to Ammon, chap. xi, 14-26, reveals a very full knowledge of Israelitish history, and the information was probably given him by the elders. It is an argument for the antiquity of the Pentateuch, but no proof that Jephthah, or even the elders, were as well versed in the religious precepts of Moses. It was much more easy and natural for Israel, especially the eastern tribes, to preserve a knowledge of their history and warlike traditions, and claims to certain territorial possessions, than of specific precepts and ordinances of religious worship.

† Dr. W. L. Alexander, in his Addendum to the article Jephthah, in Kitto's new *Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature*.

fices regarded by them otherwise than with horror." Where is it possible to find evidence of more extended and universal idolatry, and of a darker night of heathenism in Israel, than that afforded in Judges x, 6? In the age of Jehoshaphat and the later kings there were multitudes of prophets who kept alive among the masses of the people the true knowledge of God, and uttered many an oracle against the idolatry of the kings, but no trace of the like in Jephthah's day. The gods of even the hated Ammonites were freely worshiped among the chosen people, and how natural for the youthful Gileadite, under all the circumstances of his lot, to suppose that the substance and methods of religion among all the nations were about the same, and since human sacrifices were offered by some nations, and he had possibly known of instances even in Israel, they entered into and helped to form his notions of what would be most specially noble and pleasing in the sight of God.

Then came his lawless life of border warfare and adventure. "There were gathered vain men to Jephthah, and went out with him," (verse 3.) The eastern and north-eastern desert, and the dark glens of Bashan, were their home. "It is a remarkable fact," says Porter,* "and it shows how little change three thousand years have produced on this eastern land, that Bashan is still the refuge of all offenders. If a man can only reach it, no matter what may have been his crimes or his failings, he is safe. The officers of Government dare not follow him, and the avenger of blood even turns away in despair." So Jephthah, like Ishmael when exiled from his father, became a wild Bedouin of the desert, and probably the greater portion of his life had been thus spent, when, on account of his fame as a mighty warrior, he was called to be head and captain over all the inhabitants of Gilead. And what supposable opportunities did that wild border life afford him for becoming acquainted with the law of Moses? If there was great ignorance of the law in the very heart of Israel, and near to Shiloh, where the Tabernacle, and Ark, and Priests and Levites were, what greater ignorance must have prevailed far off on the wilderness border of Ammon? These considerations lead us to conclude, that, so far from being absurd or impossible, it was

*J. L. Porter: "Giant Cities of Bashan," page 14.

both natural and probable that Jephthah's knowledge of the law was exceedingly meager and confused, and that the savage discipline of his border life, often in contact with the Ammonites, had led him to suppose that the sacrifice of a human being was the noblest possible offering to God.

We now pass to examine the sequel of the history, and notice other expositions. Jephthah went and fought against the Ammonites, and "the Lord delivered them into his hands." He doubtless regarded his victory as largely owing to his vow to the Lord, and now that vow must be fulfilled. He returns, probably with quivering heart, to his house at Mizpeh, and lo, the first person that comes to meet him is his daughter, leading a company of maidens to celebrate his victory "with timbrels and with dances." Immediately his soul breaks out in a consternation of agony and grief. He rends his clothes, and cries, "Alas, my daughter, thou hast brought me very low, and thou art one of them that trouble me; for I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, and I cannot go back!" He had probably hoped to meet first some other less cherished member of his household, but lo, here comes his "only child; besides her he had neither son nor daughter!" To sacrifice her is to end his family, and "quench his coal" (2 Sam. xiv, 7) upon the earth. Hence the facts of her virginity, and of her being the only child, are emphasized.

With sublime heroism she accepts her fate. There was a point of view from which it was noble and enviable thus to die, "forasmuch as the Lord hath taken vengeance for thee of thine enemies, even of the children of Ammon," (verse 36.) Die she must, sooner or later, and no more honorable death than this could ever be hers. One thing, and one only, darkened the thought of death, and that was her virginity. Could she only have perpetuated her father's house and name; could it only have been that sons and daughters survived her to take away her reproach among women, then there would have been no pang in her death.

But she went mourning, "No fair Hebrew boy
Shall smile away my maiden blame among
The Hebrew mothers; emptied of all joy,
Leaving the dance and song,
Leaving the olive-gardens far below,
Leaving the promise of my bridal bower."—TENNYSON.

This thought of dying unwedded and childless was to her the sting of death. Take away that thought, ever so full of bitter sorrow to a Hebrew woman, and with Jephthah's daughter it were a sublime and enviable thing to die for God, her country, and her sire.

But the vow had been uttered, and it must be paid, and she desired it should be. Only one thing she asks, a respite of two months to withdraw to the mountains and bewail her virginity. Mark, *not to bewail her death*, for that, alone considered, might be regarded as a glorious end, but to bewail that which gave her death its only woeful pang, and was to her far worse than death itself—a thing above all others most deplorable in the estimation of that age and race—the fact that, in the flower of youthful womanhood, she must end life *without a husband and without a child*. It is difficult for us with our loose attachment to a coming age, and familiar with the modern lack of interest in posterity, and the noticeable desire among multitudes of females to remain childless, to appreciate the depth of feeling on this subject among the Hebrew women. A husbandless and childless state was a reproach to a marriageable female. Keil makes a misleading assertion when he says: "To mourn one's virginity does not mean to mourn because one has to die a virgin, but because one has to live and remain a virgin." More truly should it be said that the expression has as much respect to the past as to the future, but contemplates not specially life or death, but *the fact of virginity*. For we might naturally ask, If she knew she was to live and remain a virgin, and be shut up in solitude or seclusion for all her subsequent life, what sense or object in taking those two months to mourn? And then in what sense would she be more really consecrated to celibacy *after* than *during* the two months of sorrow? Far more natural, as we conceive, would it have been for her in that case to have said, Let me stay at home, and enjoy the scenes of common life a month or two, since I must give all after life to tears and solitude. "If," says Cappel in the *Critici Sacri*, "she desired or felt obliged to bewail her virginity, it was especially suitable to bewail that when shut up in the monastery; previously to her being shut up, it would have been more suitable with youthful friends and associates to have spent those two months joyfully and pleasantly,

since afterward there would remain to her more than sufficient time for weeping." *

But the two months passed, and she returned to her father, and he "did with her according to his vow which he had vowed." This plain and positive statement affords no room to quibble. It throws us back for the meaning of his act to verse 31, which contains the language of his vow. Whatever act his vow contemplated, that certainly he did. Nothing more, nothing less. He truly kept his word. He had opened his mouth to the Lord, and notwithstanding all his anguish, he went not back from his solemn word, and, according to our previous exposition of his language, we can understand nothing else than that he offered her for a burnt-offering unto the Lord.

But according to some the additional remarks in verse 39, *and she knew no man*, indicates the manner in which he fulfilled his vow. "It is not expressly stated," says Bush, "that she was offered up for a burnt-offering. Instead of saying, as would naturally, on that supposition, have been expected in a transaction of such moment, 'he did with her according to his vow, and offered her up for a burnt-offering to the Lord,' the writer simply affirms 'he did to her his vow, and she knew no man,' as if this were intended to be explanatory of the manner in which the *doing* of the vow was accomplished, namely, by devoting her to a life of celibacy. Why else is this latter circumstance mentioned, but to show wherein the accomplishment of the vow consisted?" All this, we answer, springs

* "Si flere virginitatem vel voluit vel oportuit, certe tum demum flere illam decuit cum monasterio includenda fuit; antequam vero clauderetur, decuit potius cum amicis et sociis puellis spatio duorum illorum mensium vitam agere laetam et jucundam, siquidem postea lugendi tempus plus satis longum illi superat."

These words of Cappel sufficiently offset the opposing question which is sometimes raised, Why, if she was doomed to death, did she not spend her last hours in her father's house, and enjoy all the comfort she could through the short respite of her life? But besides raising the same question against the opposite theory, we may say that to one doomed to death, and having but two months to live, home would hardly afford any comforts, and earth's sociality and joys any pleasure. It is not human under such circumstances to rejoice amid home joys. The mountain solitudes would be more congenial to the feelings of the dying maiden than any thing she would be likely to find in her father's house. Then also we might add with Cappel (as quoted in Keil): "Her lamentations were devoted to her virginity, and such lamentations could not be uttered in the town and in the presence of men. Modesty required the solitude of the mountains for these."

chiefly from a failure to appreciate, or a disposition to ignore, the inexpressible gloom and sadness that in the Hebrew mind hung over a childless death. Surely the clear and positive statement which Bush, while assuming to give the literal rendering of the Hebrew, fails (purposely?) to bring out fully in his note—*he did to her his vow* WHICH HE HAD VOWED (וַיַּעַשׂ לָהּ כְּבִטְוֹתָיו)—needed no such addition as is above proposed, for such an addition would have been altogether superfluous. But if the vow, as expressed in verse 31, contemplated a human sacrifice, (and this Bush himself is constrained to admit,) and if, instead of offering her as a burnt-offering, he devoted her to a life of celibacy, then plainly he did NOT according to his vow which he had vowed, but contrary to it, and the mere addition, *she knew no man*, would be a most inexplicably strange way of informing us that Jephthah failed to keep his word! And Bush's subsequent suggestion "that the Spirit of inspiration may have framed the record as it now stands, marked by a somewhat ambiguous aspect, *in order to guard against a light estimate of the obligation of vows*," is a pitiable case of special pleading, and only betrays the weakness of his arguments. The sacred historian uses no needless word, and does not attempt to picture the sad and fearful spectacle of Jephthah's act, but he records, not as the manner in which he did his vow, but as the most thrilling knell that in the ears of her father and companions sounded over that daughter's funeral pile, and sent its lingering echo into the after times—*she knew no man*.

Additional evidence in support of the consecration hypothesis is sought in the provisions of the law respecting vows. It is claimed that Jephthah might, in accordance with the law of Moses, have devoted his daughter to perpetual celibacy. And before showing the futility of this claim, let us for a moment grant it, and ask, What then? Granted that at the time he "opened his mouth unto the Lord" he *might* have vowed to make his daughter a Nazarite for life. No one, we presume, will stop to dispute that he *might have vowed* a host of things which it is very certain he never did vow. He might have vowed with a terrible oath, like Saul, (1 Sam. xiv, 24,) to slay every warrior of his army that tasted food before the victory was won. He might have vowed to offer all the sheep and

oxen in the land of Gilead. But it is very idle to talk about what he might possibly have done, when the record of his action affords no room for any such conjecture.

It is true that the Law (Num. vi, 2) made provision for both male and female Nazarites; but without urging the fact that we have no scriptural instance of a female Nazarite, and that the language of the Law (Num. vi, 3-12) supposes in every case a man, and no razor would, in any case, be likely to come upon a woman's head, it is all-sufficient for our purpose to emphasize the fact that the Nazarite vow *never involved a life of celibacy*. Feeble and fragile is Keil's opposing statement: "The fact that Nazarites contracted marriages, even such as were dedicated by a vow to be Nazarites all their lives, by no means warrants the conclusion that virgins dedicated to the Lord by a vow were also free to marry if they chose." We answer, "The conclusion" here specified receives far more warrant from "the fact that Nazarites contracted marriages" than it possibly can from the utter absence of any fact or law to the contrary. The notion that the women who "assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation" (Exod. xxxviii, 8; 1 Sam. ii, 22) were virgin Nazarites, is also an unwarranted assumption. The Nazarite vow involved abstinence from wine, and certain other things, but not abstinence from marriage, and there is no hint or intimation that a life of celibacy was ever thought of in connection with such vow. So all this talk of Jephthah's imposing a Nazarite vow upon his daughter utterly fails to prove any thing in the case.

Attempt is also made to bring Jephthah's case under the head of the *singular vow* described in Lev. xxvii. "The law provides for the estimation of the amount at which the child or the adult might be exonerated from the personal discharge of such vow by a commutation in money, as an equivalent for the service due, whether the devotement was made by the parent or by the individual himself."* But here again there is no shadow of evidence that the relation to God which such vow imposed was incompatible with the conjugal relation. And then, did it never enter the minds of these reasoners, that this whole statute *provides expressly for the releasing of persons from the obligations of such singular vows*? If Jephthah was

* Comfort's article in "Methodist Quarterly Review" for 1855, page 561.

acquainted with this law, he must have known that for ten, or at most for thirty, shekels of silver he could completely exonerate himself from his vow, and his plea that he could not go back would have been altogether untrue. What, then, has all this show of argument about the law of a Nazarite, and of the singular vow, to do with the case of Jephthah and his daughter? The statement of Dr. Kitto stills remains unrebutted: "To live unmarried was required by no law, custom, or devotement among the Jews; no one had the right to impose so odious a condition on another, nor is any such condition implied or expressed in the vow which Jephthah uttered." * The hypothesis that Jephthah's daughter was devoted as a nun, says Stanley, "is contrary to the plain meaning of the text, contrary to the highest authorities of the Church, contrary to all the usages of the old dispensation." †

The exposition of Louis Cappel, ‡ that Jephthah devoted his daughter to the Lord, according to the law of the *cherem*, (ban or "devoted thing," Lev. xxvii, 28, 29,) demands no extended attempt at refutation. The fundamental idea of the *cherem*, as applied to persons, was that of a forced devoting to destruction of those who obstinately refused to devote themselves to Jehovah; and the impossibility of connecting such an idea to Jephthah's case is thus forcibly shown by Hengstenberg:

(1.) The *cherem* necessarily supposes in its objects impiety, decided enmity against God, and moral corruption; but Jephthah's daughter was a virtuous, pious young woman. (2.) Sacrifice and *cherem* are in direct opposition. The vow of a sacrifice could never be fulfilled by the presentation of a *cherem*. (3.) The *cherem*, according to its idea, was a divine prerogative, and appears as such every-where, both in the law and the history. Men are only instruments in performing it, to fulfill the mandates of the divine will. The *cherem* was never any thing devoted arbitrarily by man, or without express divine direction. Otherwise every murderer might shelter himself under the injunctions respecting it. §

A passing notice must also be taken of the hypothesis of Bush, who supposes that during the two months the affair be-

* Article *Jephthah*, in Kitto's Cyclopedia.

† "Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church," page 397.

‡ *De Voto Jephthae* in the *Critici Sacri*. Tomus II, pages 2076-2086.

§ Hengstenberg on the "Genuineness of the Pentateuch," Dissertation IV.

came the subject of discussion and lamentation throughout the whole nation. He imagines that when the vow passed Jephthah's lips it "partook more of the character of the *cherem* than the *neder*, and that he was subsequently instructed by "the authorized expounders of the law" that a burnt-offering was incompatible with the nature of a *cherem*, "and that the law having made no provision for the latter being substituted for the former, he was, even according to the very terms of his vow, rightly understood, not only released, but prohibited from performing it." Accordingly he conceives that Jephthah executed his vow by devoting his daughter to perpetual celibacy—"a mode of execution which did not, in the first instance, enter into his thoughts." *

We doubt if this hypothesis ever clearly satisfied its ingenious author, or any body else. The one and all-sufficient answer to it is, that from beginning to end it is a tissue of conjectures, and can claim no support whatever from the sacred narrative. It may do for poets and romance writers to weave such fancies around the facts of Scripture history, but for a grave commentator sagely to give us such conjectures for exposition is to begin a new era in sacred hermeneutics.

But Bush inquires: "If she were really put to death, is it not strange that the fact of her death is not once spoken of?" The fact of her death, we answer, is sufficiently indicated in the statement, "He did to her his vow which he had vowed;" and as for the silence of other parts of Scripture on the subject, that surely is no more strange than its silence on a hundred other things, on which many would prefer to have had more of detail. With far more show of reason may we ask, How is it, if she was *not* slain, that we have no mention of her after life? The marginal reading, "The daughters of Israel went yearly to talk with the daughter of Jephthah," that is, to comfort her in her solitude, is altogether untenable. If that were the meaning to be conveyed, not תָּבַר, but תָּבַר or תָּבַר would have been employed. If with the English version, and all the ancient versions, (Septuagint, Vulgate, Chaldaic, Syriac, Arabic,) we render לַתְּבוֹרָה to lament, we may well remark with Kitto, "People lament the dead, not the living." But if we render to commemorate or celebrate, as is undoubtedly the cor-

* Notes, page 164.

rect translation of the Hebrew, the same remark will still apply, for people are not wont to go at stated anniversaries to commemorate or celebrate a living person. It was natural for the daughters of Israel to go yearly and celebrate the sublime devotion and lofty heroism that haloed round the memory of the saintly maiden; but if the maiden were still living in the mountains were they went to praise her, it is inexplicably strange that no intimation of that fact is given.

Some have been puzzled to know by whose hands Jephthah's daughter could have been sacrificed. It would have been unlawful, they urge, for Jephthah to have done it, for to offer burnt-offerings was the prerogative solely of the priests, and surely the priests at Shiloh would not have polluted the tabernacle with a human sacrifice. This difficulty is all imaginary. A reference merely to chapter vi, 19, 20, 26, 27, and chapter xiii, 19, of this same Book of Judges is sufficient to show that in that age it was no uncommon thing for persons to offer burnt-offerings without the presence or aid of priests, and also at places remote from the tabernacle. And the man who, like Jephthah, supposed that a human sacrifice would be pleasing to Jehovah, would not be likely to scruple over forms. Ignorant of the law against human sacrifices, he would be still less likely to know the customs and regulations of the Levitical priesthood; and to suppose that between the time he was made judge and the time he did his vow he must have learned much of the law of Moses, is to suppose what has no evidence in the Scriptures.

Finally, it is said that our exposition enables the oppugners of divine revelation to urge a capital objection against the morality of the Bible. But how is this possible when the Bible nowhere approves or sanctions Jephthah's vow? Must we accept as divinely sanctioned every action in Bible history that is not specifically condemned by some sacred writer? Amazingly shallow are they who presume to oppugn divine revelation with such logic, or they who seriously fear the attacks of such oppugners. As we have said before, we shudder at Jephthah's ignorance and superstition. Our Christian instinct revolts from his bloody deed. But, with the daughters of Israel who lived in that darkest of historic ages, we

cannot but commemorate and extol the mighty faith and zeal of Jephthah, and the sublime devotion of his daughter.

We may appropriately close this essay with the words of Stanley:*

As far back as we can trace the sentiment of those who read the passage, in Jonathan the Targumist, and Josephus, and through the whole of the first eleven centuries of Christendom, the story was taken in its literal sense as describing the death of the maiden, although the attention of the Church was, as usual, diverted to distant allegorical meanings. Then, it is said, from a polemical bias of Kimchi, arose the interpretation that she was not killed, but immured in celibacy. From the Jewish theology this spread to the Christian. By this time the notion had sprung up that every act recorded in the Old Testament was to be defended according to the standard of Christian morality; and, accordingly, the process began of violently wresting the words of Scripture to meet the preconceived fancies of later ages. In this way entered the hypothesis of Jephthah's daughter having been devoted as a nun; contrary to the plain meaning of the text, contrary to the highest authorities of the Church, contrary to all the usages of the old dispensation. In modern times a more careful study of the Bible has brought us back to the original sense. And with it returns the deep pathos of the original story, and the lesson which it reads of the heroism of the father and daughter, to be admired and loved, in the midst of the fierce superstitions across which it plays like a sunbeam on a stormy sea.

ART. VI.—THE POSITION OF CALVINISM. †

THERE has been put into my hands a late number of the "Methodist," with a leading editorial entitled "Schaff on American Theology." I propose to make some observations

* "Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church." First Series, page 397.

† The paper which follows was originally designed as a communication for the columns of the "Methodist," in answer to a leading article from a source unknown to me. This will account for its familiar tone, and for portions which may seem less fitting to the pages of a solid Quarterly. But it grew upon the hands of the writer to its present size, and, being placed in the hands of one of my distinguished Methodist Episcopal brethren of Madison, was by him designated to its present place, where, by the courtesy of the Editor, it appears. It was written several months ago, as its readers will perceive, but its publication has been unavoidably delayed until now.—R. A.

We cheerfully insert the communication of our respected contributor, under condition of our making free but respectful annotations.—EDITOR.

upon this article. *Audi alterem partem* is the only principle by observing which we arrive at clear light. While I do not mean to be understood as agreeing with other parts of the article, yet I design to look at one or two special statements, which are statements of facts, and facts in regard to which, it seems to me, Calvinists ought to be the most competent witnesses.* The following extracts are the portions to which I refer: "The Arminian revolution of opinion, which has nearly eliminated the Augustinian theology." "It (Methodism) has leavened all American Protestantism. Few, if any, American divines would now acknowledge Calvin's Institutes as their theological standard. Calvinism, whether Sublapsarian or Supralapsarian, is now seldom uttered in American pulpits. The general religious consciousness of the country recognizes it as effete."

These are surprising assertions. I almost held my breath as I read them. If you should read in any of our most highly accredited Presbyterian papers the statement that Calvinism had nearly eliminated the Arminian theology, you would be as much astounded as we are; and if you respected the author of the statement as much as we respect the "Methodist," you would very likely pause, and take a fresh breath, to know whether you really were alive or not.

Permit me to premise, that what I shall say will be from the Presbyterian stand-point. There are other Calvinistic bodies of power in the land. The Protestant Episcopal Church in its seventeenth article of the "Thirty-nine" asserts the clearest Calvinism.† The whole article might well have come from Calvin's own pen. The Confession of the (Dutch) Reformed Church is identical with the "Thirty-nine Articles;"

* However intelligent or honest, men are not always "competent witnesses" in their own case. In the present issue Calvinists are rather the parties than the witnesses. If Calvinists can testify how fast they have held to Calvinism, those who have for a century stood at issue with them may be quite as good witnesses how much they have yielded and how far they have retreated.

Trust not yourself, but your defects to know,
Make use of every friend and every foe.—POPE.

And yet we suspect that many, we know not how many, Calvinistic preachers would confirm the statement of the "Methodist."

† Lord Chatham said that "the English Church had a Popish liturgy, a Calvinistic creed, and an Arminian clergy." It is very possible that an American Church may have a Calvinistic clergy and an Arminian laity.

and it also distinctly adheres to the Canons of the Synod of Dort on the famous "Five Points," among which are Predestination, Election, and Perseverance. The two great Baptist bodies of the land, the "Regular Baptists" and the "Baptists South," are distinctively Calvinistic in their creeds; the latter especially pronounced in the third article, on "God's decrees." To these add the numerous and influential Trinitarian Congregationalists, who have indeed no one authoritative human platform, but whose Calvinistic belief is vastly in preponderance. Other bodies need not be mentioned, though there are others still, outside the Presbyterian fold, and not unimportant.

That the creeds of these Churches are held with various degrees of strictness we are all aware. The doctrinal creed of the Episcopal Church sits lightly on its clergy, although there are not a few firm Calvinists in its communion. Our Reformed brethren hold the Augustinian theology with tenacity; while among the Baptists, both North and South, are found many of the most uncompromising Calvinists in the land. Even after due allowance for the men who do not profess to hold their doctrinal creed in any strict way, it is yet probable that the Calvinistic doctrines are professedly held by *at least* half the Evangelical Churches and ministers in America.

These Churches have their theological seminaries, whose Professors teach their doctrines; they have their ordaining bodies, examining candidates for the ministry, and requiring assent to the standards; and some of them have more or less authoritative expositions of the standards, written by their men of highest mark, and published with the denominational imprint. Now whether these theological teachers and ministers would assent to the proposition that the Arminian revolution of opinion has nearly eliminated [*"eliminate, to expel, to thrust out"*—*Webster*] the Augustinian theology, it is for them to say. They would probably deem the question, if propounded to them, the most extraordinary one they were ever called to answer.*

* Possibly. And when *we affirm and they deny*, the fair issue is made.

Our respected brother will note that our question is not what theological professors teach in their schools, nor what are the printed articles of faith accepted by the ministry, nor what the preachers themselves believe, nor what they *claim* to

Speaking now from the Presbyterian stand-point, I deem it true to say that whatever changes in doctrinal views, or in forms of doctrinal statement, have occurred among us, these changes have not been the result of the progress of Arminian-

have, as a whole, preached. It is, *What kind of sermons do the people in Presbyterian pews hear?*

If a census could be taken, we think it would be found that there are now in the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches, induced by personal or other advantages, many thousands of Methodists, or at least Arminians, by education and belief. If all the Arminians in Presbyterian pews were to evacuate, they would leave a decidedly thinned Church. When questioned about it their uniform reply is, "We hear no preaching to which a Methodist could object." When we state the doctrines of the Presbyterian Articles, they reply that "no such doctrines are now preached." If the thousands of Methodists in this position were all asked at once, in every part of the land, we have every reason to believe, by fair induction from ample facts of our own experience, that such would be their unanimous answer.

So late as the last evening before this present writing we were accidentally informed by a well-educated gentleman of Methodist principles and antecedents that for the last two years he had attended the Presbyterian Churches in various parts of the country, and had "never heard any Calvinism." The two years previous to that his father, a leading Methodist layman, and himself had been temporary members of a Congregational Church in Ohio, and both agreed that during that time they never heard a sentiment advanced which they did not, as Methodists, believe. He added, "They do not preach Calvinism anywhere as they used to." All this was said, as usual, *by way of eulogy* upon them as "liberal" preachers, and in self-defense for attending and supporting their ministry. When, however, we recalled to his mind the real doctrines of Calvinism, as assented to by these preachers, especially as contained in the Presbyterian Articles, and asked him whether (saying nothing against the character of the men) the discrepancy was not a "fact of duplicity," he admitted the statement. When we asked, then, what right, as a layman, he had to support even the best of men in a "duplicity," he admitted that he had never thought of it in that light before. Our friend added that the Sunday previous he had heard a talented clergyman of Newburgh preach a sermon in which the doctrine of free-will was clearly brought out; and when we informed him that the free will which said clergyman held was a freedom to choose but one possible way fixed by the strongest motive, just as a clock-hammer could strike but one possible way, determined by the strongest force, he acknowledged himself to have been deceived. Our friend exousingly added that these men had unfortunately inherited their creed; to which we replied, *first*, that it was perfectly in their power to change their Articles, or to enter an Arminian Church; and *second*, that they ought not at any rate to bravely boast, like our friend Dr. Aikman, that they held them as firmly and preached them as abundantly and strictly as they ever did. The essence of this conversation we have had occur countless times; and we believe there are few middle-aged Methodist preachers who have not received similar testimony not only from laymen similarly circumstanced, but from the regular-born Presbyterian membership.

Since writing the above we have put the question to a leading Methodist minister of New Jersey, between whom and Dr. Aikman a cordial friendship exists:

ism. It would probably be true to assert that the "Arminian revolution" has had little or no appreciable influence in producing them.

The Methodist Church * is rapidly becoming † a theological

"What proof is there that predestination has ceased to be preached?" Ample proof, he in substance promptly replied, from the common statements of the Presbyterian membership. Talk with them, and they will uniformly reply, "No such doctrines are preached to us now." He named one of the most accomplished Presbyterian ministers of New Jersey who declared that he had never written but one sermon on the decrees in his life, and that he had not looked at it for many years.

The Editor of the "Methodist," to whom Dr. Aikman replies, has probably had far better advantages to know what preaching comes from the average Presbyterian pulpits than Dr. Aikman himself. He is a Master in Theology. He has for years preached but once a Sabbath, and has habitually attended the various worship in New York and Brooklyn. He is amply familiar with the Presbyterian Churches, and his editorial under discussion is the result of years of personal observation, and its statements, we think, nearly correct.

* The following paragraph is intended to be generous; but, from the writer's unacquaintance with our doctrinal history, is disparaging to such a degree that no well-informed Methodist would accept it.

† "Becoming"? We had imagined, and still entertain no doubt, that we were "a theological power in the land" nearly a century ago; a far greater power in the "Calvinistic controversy" than since. On this subject we call our respected brother's attention to the passage on Methodist Theology quoted from the "London Quarterly" in the Synopsis of our last number.

We assure him that the systematic precision in its theology there ascribed to Methodism has existed in America from the beginning. Wesleyan Methodism took a strongly definite form originally in England in a controversy with Calvinism which shook the whole Methodist movement to its center. Wesley found the Calvinism of Toplady, Rowland Hill, and Whitefield not only so at issue with his own moral sense, but so adverse to the conversion of souls, that he found it necessary to shake it off with a giant effort from Methodism before Methodism could go forth in triumph to the four quarters of the globe. Calvinistic Methodism shrunk into the mountains of Cambria, where it still dwells. Calvinistic Methodism is Wales-wide, Arminian Methodism is world-wide. Our Methodism then took a complete symmetrical theological form. With that same theology, clearly understood and firmly grasped, our Methodism came to America. She found Calvinism in full possession, and an obstacle in her own way in bringing souls to Christ. Our anti-Calvinistic principles, embodied in Wesley's Sermons and Notes, the Doctrinal Tracts, and Fletcher's Checks, issued from the Book Room, were in the saddle-bags, we may roughly say, of every circuit rider. They formed his well-studied body of theology. And what is specially to be marked is this—the several doctrinal affirmations of Methodism are each and all immediate spiritual forces to the production of conversion and holiness. A Methodist preacher is not obliged, as Dr. Aikman will soon tell us that Nettleton did, to postpone his doctrinal sermon to the end of a revival. Every Methodist sermon in a revival is the preaching of a Methodist doctrine, and, divested of dogmatic technicals, tells on the conversion of sinners and the perfecting of saints. And when Dr. Aikman tells us,

power in the land, but its distinctive work, until of late, has been its practical work of Christian aggression. Its energy and success in this we all acknowledge to the glory of God. To speak thus is no more disparaging to your Church than it

as he soon will, that Coke and Asbury had something higher to do than to preach Arminianism, we reply, Certainly not; to preach *Arminianism* was their highest duty, and they did it plentifully and well. The doctrine of free-will (disburdened of necessity or predestination) flung all the responsibility of sin on the sinner; the doctrine of unlimited atonement (disburdened of partial reprobation) opened free salvation for ALL; the doctrine of "gracious ability" encouraged and brought the sinner to faith; the doctrine of the witness of the Spirit led the convert to communion with God; the doctrine of possible apostasy warned him to maintain the constant assurance of a *present* salvation; the doctrine of entire sanctification inspired him to whole-souled effort for the attainment of every height of holiness. It was this emancipation of the Gospel and of the sinner from all fatalistic shackles, this glad proclamation of a free, a full, and a perfected salvation from sin, in short, *this anti-Calvinism*, thrilling through every nerve and fiber of Methodism, that has caused her to bound exulting as the roe through the earth.

Now we repeat it, emphatically repeat it, dear Dr. Aikman, Methodism in her joyous and saving career did find Calvinism the dark and baneful antithesis and obstacle to these glorious truths. Calvinism taught the sinner that God willed his every sin; it taught him that all his choices were the necessary effect of circumstances; it drove him into hopelessness by the decree of reprobation; it made God a monster who damns men for the sin he has decreed; it taught the believer that he must never indulge the full assurance of salvation, and at the same time claimed to comfort him by telling him that if he is a Christian, he may live at his ease, he can never be lost; it checked his aspirations for holiness, and made him easy in lukewarmness to be assured that he must expect no complete earthly power over sin. Numbers of our early preachers, having been educated as Calvinists, knew by terrible experience its pernicious effects through years of Antinomianism, or reprobate despair, or hatred of God as depicted by Calvinism. Others encountered it in the excuses and pleas of sinners for sin, truly unanswerable, assuming Calvinism to be true. Others encountered it in the deadness and formality of Churches lying on the lees of assured perseverance and necessary sinfulness. Others encountered it in the skepticism which its repulsive picture of God and its appalling doctrine of reprobation for decreed sin presented. From one end of their extent to the other our ministry put on their high Arminian armor, and for fifty years at least, with an ability seldom surpassed, poured broadsides from their ranks. *The large body of the first generation of Methodists in some sections had been Calvinists*, or were people who had never heard any Gospel but election and reprobation, and were shriveling into indifference and infidelity by reaction against it. The news of a free salvation called them as alive from the dead.

Our own personal ancestry, originally Calvinistic, became Methodists. Our own boyhood and young manhood witnessed and shared the fervor of the battle. So far from there having been no "collision," as Brother Aikman imagines, there was probably but a small minority of towns where the opposing influences did not meet and mingle and modify each other. In this way a great and powerful people has been formed *largely from among Calvinists*. But for twenty-five years past it has

is to our country, to say that it is just becoming a literary and scientific power in the world. It is the glory of a man, of a Church, and of a nation, to do the work which God puts on either to do first. As you well say, Whitefield did not come to spread his Calvinism in America; and so did not Coke and Asbury go forth to the prodigious labors of their lives that Arminianism might be spread. These all had other and higher work to do. So true is this, that the Articles of Faith of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, adopted in 1784, contain no distinctive Arminianism; nothing whatever to which a Calvinist cannot cordially subscribe. This shows the life-purpose of Wesley, by whom the Twenty-five Articles were sent over to this country, and also of the pioneers of Methodism in America, whose imperishable work was built upon so broad a charity.*

Having performed these labors you have lately entered upon others, organizing colleges and theological schools,† (not made strong in a day,) with men of mark and learning at their head, such as the honored men near me, with whom it is my privilege to have Christian and profitable association. Your time has come to issue commentaries,‡ to produce theological tomes, to compact into printed forms your system of belief, and logic-

sounded along our lines that *the battle is over*. All through the land we understand from Methodists familiar with Calvinistic Churches, from their own membership, and from eminent ministers of those Churches, that Calvinism is seldom preached. The result of this impression, sharply as our amiable brother resents it, has been PEACE. The preaching of our own doctrines has taken the pure practical form, and direct antagonisms against Calvinism have generally ceased. As the field has broadened and the population has thickened, each side has had enough to do without antagonizing the other. And then they have so often found each other blessed auxiliaries, side by side, in the same blessed work of Christian good-doing, that they have forgotten to debate.

* There is nothing in our Articles against Universalism. Dr. Aikman forgets that Wesley's Notes and Sermons are as truly theological standards, on strict theological points, as our Articles.

† It was not by theological schools that Christianity overthrew Paganism, but by an appeal *ad populum*. Without any such schools, until very lately, the doctrinal system of world-wide Methodism has been all that the "London Quarterly Review" claims; far more precise, consistent, and systematic, and far more firmly and unitedly held, than Calvinism with all her schools and tomes.

‡ On the contrary, our age of great commentaries seems to have long passed. For nearly a century our Book Concern has issued in huge quartos and octavos the Commentaries of Wesley, Adam Clarke, Joseph Benson, Dr. Coke, and Richard Watson. Their great excellence has forestalled enterprise. We were endowed at start with

ally to show its relations to and its differences from the theologies of other Churches.

Will it be deemed presumptuous for me to suggest, that in the collisions of thought which this work will bring about, and is even now bringing, Calvinism may possibly modify Arminianism* quite as much as the latter the former, although neither will ever eliminate the other?

But further, the changes to which I allude began many years ago, and were the manifest result of causes within our own body; and the Presbyterian Church, in its earliest days, was composed mainly of emigrants from Scotland and Ireland. It frequently sent abroad for its ministers, and when it could, it sent its own young men abroad to be educated for the ministry.

This Scotch-Irish element formed from the beginning, and still forms, a powerful element in our Church. It has learning, piety, and tenacity of purpose. It always inclined to high Calvinism, and to the stricter interpretation of the standards.

Early in our history there came also to the front, men of American birth, like Dickinson and Davies, with the two Tennants, who, though born abroad, came to this country in early life, and were here converted, and were thoroughly American in their sympathies and views; and men from New England, with the modes of thought that even then characterized that region, with readier aptitudes to change, and possibly less reverence for antiquity and great names. Elemental forces are apt to be occult, but they are the mightiest of all; and these two forces have been steadily at work all through our history.

As the future historian of the Great Rebellion will not give its full and true account by telling us of men and parties who on either side led on the vast strife, but only by going back to

a great theology, a great exegesis, a great hymnology, and a great Church polity; in consequence, wisely or unwisely, we have exclusively applied ourselves to a wide, heroic, and eloquent popular propagandism. Ignoring this original endowment, Brother Aikman views us as so many smart paupers who have just scraped up a little capital with a hopeful view to a future pretty good business. This is the common view of his brethren, which they will in time, though reluctantly, correct.

* If we were to undergo any modification on the points debated, it would unquestionably be, in accordance with the great movement of the age, farther and farther from doctrinal Calvinism. Nevertheless, we would gladly and thankfully accept from Calvinists every improvement in piety and in efficiency for the spread of scriptural holiness through the earth. In these respects we testify with pleasure that our Calvinistic brethren at the present day are worthy of emulation.

those two little vessels which in 1620 bore under their white wings two principles of life and death, and planted one in Virginia and the other in Massachusetts, so, in our humbler sphere, no man writes comprehensively of Presbyterian history who loses sight of these two elements of our denominational life. The conflict of these two forces it is that has produced nearly all our upheavals, and most of the changes and modifications, which have occurred among us.* Each side has modified the other, until now we have come to a platform, not of unanimity upon all points, but of understanding and appreciation, which is much, and of absolute mutual and fraternal toleration, which is more. Neither side has been sensibly modified by Arminianism, with which, indeed, neither has come much into collision; although, of course, Presbyterianism has received into itself something of the age it lives in, and of the confluent influences which from all sides pour into the bosom of every living denomination.

Let us now look at the question itself of alleged *changes in*

* Perhaps some light can be shed upon the origin of the difference between these "two forces." Hagenbach's "History of Doctrines," vol. ii, edited by that eminent Calvinistic scholar, Dr. Henry B. Smith, makes the following liberal statements:

"The Arminian Church (of Holland) numbered among its members many eminent men, who exerted a beneficial reaction upon Protestantism by their thorough scientific attainments, no less than by the mildness of their sentiments."—Page 214.

"The Arminian principle, which renounced the authority of the symbolical books, gave such an impulse to exegetical investigation, to independent hermeneutical labors, and to the speculative treatment of theology, that in consequence of the influence exerted by the works of Episcopius and Hugo Grotius, *it was introduced into the whole Evangelical Church.*"—Page 216.

To this we may add, that apparently, under those Hollandic influences, the entire clergy of the English Church, in spite of the apparent Calvinism of their Articles, and even of the implication of infant damnation in their ritual, seceded to Arminianism. At that period the works of the great Puritan Arminian divine, JOHN GOODWIN, exerted a powerful influence on Puritanism in England. When Arminian Wesley arose, the Toplady Calvinists of England thought they could call him nothing worse than "the John Goodwin of the age." Side by side with Goodwin, that other great Puritan Arminian, John Milton, fought for the doctrine of liberty of conscience. Now Scotland and Ireland were, indeed, at that time too remote to feel this mild Hollandic breeze; but even English Calvinism softened under its beneficent power, and imported that softening to America. Our respected Brother Aikman is, therefore, requested to consider whether, after all, the mitigation of English-American Calvinism, in comparison with the Scotch and Irish, is not an infusion of Arminianism, coming in very direct and immediate line from the great and good Arminius himself.

doctrine. A correct view of our history will show that these changes have not been of the kind, nor much in the direction, supposed by the writer in the "Methodist." Calvinism, in all its essential views and features, is to-day held throughout the whole Presbyterian Church as firmly and unflinching as it ever was. Our theological battle-cries have been Original Sin, Imputation, Depravity, Ability, the Nature and Extent of the Atonement.* These we have discussed, and upon them we

* The essential and universal issue which Wesleyan-Arminianism has taken against Calvinism may mostly be stated in a single proposition. We deny and they affirm the GENERIC PRINCIPLE that *the divine government may inalternatively secure the sin of any being, and then justly damn him eternally for the sin so secured.* We deny, and they affirm, or assume, that *a being can be justly damned for sin which he never had the adequate power of avoiding.* We affirm that adequate, unneutralized power to a volition is necessary to responsibility; unless, always, that power has been responsibly forfeited.

Calvinism affirms, or assumes, that God may damn beings for sin which they had no adequate power to avoid, in at least the following seven cases:

1. ORIGINAL SIN AND ABILITY.—The whole human race, as fallen in Adam, might be justly damned with an absolutely universal damnation, without any Saviour being interposed or any adequate power of avoidance. At such a view we stand aghast with abhorrence. Arminians hold that a "gracious ability" is necessary to the responsibility of fallen man; Taylorism holds that fallen man has still "natural ability" to repent; his depravity consisting in the free uniformity of voluntary sinning. This last is semi-Pelagianism. We may add that we use the word Taylorism not in disrespect, but as a brief term to designate a systematized view; just as we use the word Arminianism.

2. ETERNAL REPROBATION.—From the above first Calvinistic point it follows, *à fortiori*, that God might pass by as reprobate, and leave in eternal damnation, those who, without any adequate volitional power of avoidance of their own, are involved in the guilt of Adam's sin, so that the reprobates are damned for what they never could avoid. About the most appalling of dogmas!

3. INFANT DAMNATION.—*A fortiori*, it is equally just for God to pass by and leave in reprobation and eternal death any or all infants, as they are merely, like all the others, damned for what they cannot help. Our Arminianism teaches universal infant salvation; Taylorism, so far as we know, accords.

4. WILL POWER.—*A fortiori*, again, no adequate volitional ability, or power of counter choice, is requisite, in order to render any choice or course of choices and actions justly worthy of eternal damnation; so that, again, any being may be justly and eternally damned for what he cannot help. Taylorism teaches that the agent must possess adequate power of choice contrary to strongest motive, though it is certain he will never exert it. Arminianism teaches such power of counter choice unbound by any such certainty.

5. FOREORDAINED DAMNATION.—By an act of irrespective unforeknowing foreordination, predetermining what shall come to pass, the reprobates passed by, and intrinsically incapable of repentance, are decretively consigned to perpetual sin and eternal death. So that reprobates are again damned for what they cannot help.

have divided. Underneath all our debates ruled, indeed, the subtle and prevalent tendencies to which I have alluded—and tendencies are like the tides, greater than the things they bear onward—but these are the things which are written in the book of the wars of the Presbyterian Zion. Upon the distinctive Calvinistic points no differences exist among us which have not always existed, nor any wider differences now than formerly.

It will be in order just here to state what is the Augustinian Theology, or Calvinism, which is the same thing. Not that

6. PAGAN DAMNATION.—All pagans and other persons who never heard of Christ, and never had any means of salvation, are justly damned eternally for that want of faith in Christ which they cannot help.

7. IMPUTATION.—Sin may be justly and literally imputed to the innocent, whether the innocent could avoid it or not; so that Adam's personal sin may with strict justice be imputed as *guilt* in his innocent posterity, and the sins of men may be literally imputed in their guilt to Christ, and he suffer infinite punishment in strict justice, so that a man may be, by intrinsic justice, held responsible for what he did not do and could not help. Arminianism denies the transferability of guilt or literal punishment. The sin of Adam is not imputed to his posterity, nor the sin of man imputed to Christ. Taylorism is here rather Arminian.

Now, whoever holds any one of these seven points, must hold it on the generic principle that a man may be justly damned for what he cannot help; and having once conceded the principle, he has no defense against either of the others. He must in strict logic reject or accept the whole. He can reject any one only by summarily rejecting the generic principle on which the whole are based.

From all this Dr. Aikman, we think, might see two things. First, that *every variation from genuine Calvinism, on all the points he mentions, Original Sin, Imputation, Depravity, Ability, (as well as Free-will and Necessity,) has been in direction toward Arminianism.* It has, in every instance, either approximated to or coincided with our Methodism; or it has overleaped us and vaulted into semi-Pelagianism. Had we space we might demonstrate this on every point. Second, the reason why "New Divinity" men, in Calvinistic Churches, like Taylor, Beaman, Fitch, and Finney, were *involved in perplexity and contradiction*, is, that they tried to evade the generic principle of eternal damnation for the unavoidable on particular points, instead of throwing that principle entirely overboard and coming out upon the broad, free platform of RESPONSIBILITY ONLY FOR THE AVOIDABLE. So bound were they either by their churchly position, their pledged creeds, or by doctrinal prepossessions, that they declined to become thus outright Arminians. The consequence was that they writhed and twisted; they reeled to and fro like drunken men, and were at their wits' ends. They were as weak as effigies under Dr. Hodge's broadsides. As the granting Dr. Hodge his generic principle on a single point grants the whole, so the puny wriggler who has so granted, if he has sense enough to be logical, is as surely brought into Dr. Hodge's theological center as a fly is drawn by the web into the pitiless embraces of a fine old spider.

Calvin held all that Augustine did, for he did not; nor that we are to look at all the views that either of them held.

It will not be denied that even Arminius held much more of Gospel doctrine in common with Calvin and Augustine, than that which he held in distinction from them. The great Dutch and the great Genevan maintained the vital truths of the Gospel system so in common that he who is guided by either will reach eternal life. The writer in the "Methodist" refers to those doctrines which specially distinguish Calvinism from Arminianism; which are these three: Predestination, Election, and the Perseverance of the Saints. By Predestination we mean that* "God from all eternity did by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will freely and unchangeably

*For a full exposition of this article we refer to our volume on the Will, pp. 420-423. We may here subject it to a brief criticism.

When it speaks of the "liberty" of the agent it does not mean a liberty of the will by which an agent is able to will or choose any otherwise than he will or does choose. The learned Westminster divines held that the liberty of the will is, as before said, just the same as the liberty of the clock-hammer; namely, as the clock-hammer has liberty or power to strike just as it does and no other way, so the will has liberty or power to choose just as it does and no other way. A man chooses freely just as a clock-hammer strikes freely. And this is just the same liberty as all machines possess. But the word liberty in the above quoted article actually refers not to the freedom of the will but to the freedom of the body, namely, that freedom by which the body is necessitated to act as caused to act by the necessitated will. So that this liberty is necessary, mechanical, and fatalistic from beginning to end. And these learned divines hold that God has decreed how this mechanical process shall be performed, and has then decreed that the living machine shall burn in hell forever for the necessitated action by himself so decreed. And that is Calvinism. When, further, the above article affirms that no "violence" is "offered to the will," it means that nothing knocks the will out from under this fatalistic necessity, so but that the necessity has its inevitable course. And when it says that "contingency" is established, it simply means that whereas some "causes" are complete and sufficient for effect in themselves, and others are dependent or "contingent" on the concurrence of some other cause, so God's decree does not change matters so but that the complete are still complete, and the contingent are still "contingent." But if any man imagines that these divines believed that sin could really in any case of its actual commission be avoided, or that the reprobate ever possessed any adequate power of will to escape his decreed or necessitated damnation, he is deceived by their words. Our reader will at once perceive, therefore, that this article has an outside and an inside meaning; it has an exoteric and an esoteric stratum; it has a popular mask and a hideous face. And when it is said God is not "the author of sin" it is simply denied that God is the *committer* of the sin; it does not deny (what the previous words affirm) either that God's will predetermines every sin, or that he sets in train those causations by which each sin is inalterably secured, and then damns the sinner for the sin

ordain whatever comes to pass; yet so as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established." The following are the words of President Edwards, which I quote as indicating his agreement with the view of human liberty and the contingency of second causes, as thus set forth by the Westminster standards. He says, "Nothing that I maintain supposes that men are at all hindered by any fatal necessity from doing, and even willing and choosing, as they please, with full freedom, yea, with the highest degree of liberty that ever was thought of, or that ever could possibly enter into the heart of any man to conceive." * By Election we mean that "those of mankind that are predestinated unto life God, before the foundation of the world was laid, according to his eternal and immutable purpose and the secret counsel and good pleasure of his will, hath chosen in Christ unto everlasting glory, out of his mere free grace and love, without any foresight of faith or good works or perseverance in either of them, or any other thing in the creature, as conditions or causes moving him thereunto, and all to the praise of his glorious name." By the doctrine of the Perseverance of the Saints we mean that "they whom God has accepted in his Beloved, effectually called and sanctified by his

decreed and secured. It thus makes God morally responsible for all sin, and then makes him damn men for the sins of which He alone is justly guilty.

* And this quotation from Jonathan Edwards is of the same deceptive nature. Edwards, like the Westminster Divines, believed that the will possesses no more power to choose otherwise than it does choose, than a clock-hammer possesses, the power to strike otherwise than it does strike. When the will in his view chooses as it "pleases," its "please" is as fixed by the motive as the clock-hammer is by its springs and forces. His argument in showing that no self-determining power of the will can exist, or even be conceived, is held by Calvinists to be one of the most perfect of all demonstrations. And believing that no higher liberty than clock-hammer freedom is even conceivable, he does in the paragraph quoted most delusively pretend that he believes in the highest freedom conceivable; that is, freedom, power of contrary choice, not only does not and cannot exist, but cannot even be conceived. It is as if a materialist, believing only in matter in its three forms of solids, fluid, and vapor, and holding that spirit is inconceivable, should flauntingly maintain that he was a true spiritualist because he believed in vapor, which is the purest and highest *spirit* that any man can conceive. Who does not see that such language not only denies the existence, but the absolute conceivability of spirit? Just so does Edwards here deny the absolute conceivability of volitional freedom.

Spirit, can neither totally nor finally fall away from the state of grace, but shall certainly persevere therein to the end, and be eternally saved."

In these doctrines consists essential Calvinism. This is the Augustinian Theology.

Augustine accounts for the fact that some men are renewed, and some are not, by the unconditional decree (*decretum absolutum*) according to which God determines to select from the fallen mass of mankind, the whole of whom are alike guilty and under condemnation, a portion upon whom he bestows renewing grace, and to leave the remainder to their own self-will and the operation of law and justice. The ground and reason of this selection of only a portion of mankind, according to Augustine, is God's wise good pleasure, and not a foreseen faith upon a part of the individual man. For faith itself is a gift of God. It is the product of grace, and grace results from the unconditional decree. . . . The unconditional decree, in reference to the non-elect, according to Augustine, is one of preterition, or omission, merely. The reprobating decree is not accompanied, as the electing decree is, with any direct divine efficiency to secure the result. And there is no need of any;* for, according to the Augustinian anthropology, there is no possibility of self-recovery from a voluntary apostasy, and consequently the simple passing by and leaving of the sinful soul to itself renders its perdition as certain as if it were brought about by a direct divine efficiency.—*Shedd's "History of Christian Doctrine,"* vol. ii, pp. 70, 72.

Those of us who do not hold all the Augustinian anthropology, and particularly his realistic philosophy and its sequent view of Imputation, still maintain all that is essential in these declarations. We hold that it is by grace alone that salvation is imparted; that the grace proceeds from God's unconditional

* "There is no need of any"! No, indeed; for, as it is damning the infinite Gorilla is after securing, it must be admitted that his hapless victims are very efficiently and thoroughly damned without "need of any" direct decree of reprobation. *First*, by foreordination he damns them to hell, an eternity before they are born; *second*, holding them guilty, by an atrocious lie, of a sin they never committed, he doubly damns them; *third*, subjecting them to a paralysis of soul by which they cannot repent without the spirit, and arbitrarily withholding the spirit, he trebly damns them; *finally*, hemming them in by overruling motives to impotence, without "power of contrary choice," he quadruply damns them. "There is no need of any" quintuple damnation, as Dr. Shedd grimly and truly says. Dr. Aikman seems to imagine that he has here presented the scheme of Calvinistic Reprobation plausibly! We tell him that every fiber of our whole moral nature rises up to pronounce it *accursed*! The polyglot furnishes no language to express the depth of unanimous abhorrence with which our readers will salute its awful face. Among all the haggard superstitions of the earth, Comparative Theology can furnish no more truly diabolical untruth.

decree; apart from grace, nothing but depravity, sin, and death prevail; that the grace is irresistible in the sense that it can, and in the case of the elect does, overcome all sinful opposition, and that this grace of effectual calling God from all eternity decreed to give only to those whom from all eternity he chose in Christ.

Upon these points Calvin's Institutes are in accord with the views of Augustine, and will be so acknowledged. This is, therefore, the Calvinistic Theology.

At this point let it be freely admitted that not all things which either Augustine or Calvin have said upon the mysterious topic of the divine decrees secure the assent of the Calvinistic world, although, even when one disagrees with them, it is impossible not to be profoundly impressed with the solemn scriptural drift of their argument. The same admission must be made with regard to our own Presbyterian Confession of Faith. There is language in it which we do not all adopt. When we take ordination vows we "sincerely receive and adopt the Confession of Faith of this Church as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures." The *ipsissima verba* theory is not prevalent in our Church; indeed I know no man who holds it, for what more can a man hold with regard even to Holy Scripture itself? And yet I do not mean to say that Presbyterians may not be found who hold to the very language of our standards upon every one of the points here involved. No doubt there are such; men who maintain that inevitable logic and Scripture declarations must push all believers in the doctrines of grace up to high Calvinism. I only mean to aver that, with sporadic exceptions, such as may be found in all denominations, Presbyterians believe and maintain the three great theologic dogmas as here declared. We are all either Supralapsarians or Sublapsarians; or, as Dr. Hodge prefers to say of the latter, Infralapsarians.*

* Dr. Fisk has well said, that when a man has once accepted the awful dogma that God, irrespective of logically antecedent foresight, has from all eternity fore-ordained whatever comes to pass, all the condemnable elements by us imputed to Calvinism are implicitly therein contained. All subordinate shadings and variations lose their significance. The differences between Augustinianism and Calvinism, between high Calvinism and low Calvinism, or between the *supra-* or *sub-*, or *infra-* or *subter-lapsarianisms*, are not worth the snap of a baby's finger. The dogma of fore-ordination means that God decrees the sin, and then damns the

If, now, any of our Arminian friends lift up their eyebrows at this, as indeed all will to whom the editorial comes as an oracle, we advise them to ask the dozen Presbyterian ministers of their nearest surroundings whether or not they hold the three doctrines essentially as they have been here stated.* As another proof in the same direction, let me venture to predict the nature of the reception which will be given by our ministry to the great work of Dr. Hodge just published, his "Systematic Theology." If a personal allusion may be pardoned, that work will be read by many who, like the writer of this article, are by training, by philosophic theories, and by conviction, compelled to differ from Dr. Hodge upon some points which his great authority may well make us modest in disputing, yet New School, as we once were called, and perhaps are yet regarded, we shall all read his chapter on the "Decrees of God" with clear and solemn assent.

And when we read in Vol. II, Part III, his views on Soteriology, our differences with him will be on the same old topics of Original Sin, Ability, the Nature of Christ's Satisfaction, and its correlate, the Extent of the Atonement: differences, too, which are in no small measure philosophical. And even these will, in many cases, appear to be differences in

sinner for the sin decreed. And such a dogma,* by whomsoever held, or wherever expressed, whether in the Presbyterian Articles or in Dr. Hodge's theology, is utterly and infinitely damnable.

* We should need not only to ask of this "dozen" the general question, "Do you preach Calvinism?" but we must be allowed to ask a list of questions to ascertain whether the Calvinism they preach does not skip the true gist of Calvinism. For instance,

Do you preach the doctrine of infant damnation, as taught by the Articles of the Presbyterian Church?

Do you preach, and make the people clearly understand, that God has eternally predetermined and decreed all the sin ever committed, whether murder, blasphemy, perjury, infidelity, whoremongery, drunkenness, or treason?

Do you preach that God has decreed, from all eternity, that certain persons shall sin, shall be reprobates, shall never repent, and shall be damned to all eternity for the sins that God has decreed them to commit?

Do you preach that the will of the reprobate is so pressed by motives that he must choose reprobacy, without any "power to the contrary," so that he is as necessarily damned as he was necessarily born?

If you do not preach all this and more, with the full purpose that the people shall completely understand it, then you do not declare the whole counsel of God according to Calvinism. You delusively play Hamlet *minus* Hamlet.

statement and definition rather than in substance. For it is surprising how nearly Scripture-loving men do come together, when each has so defined his position that the other understands exactly what his brother disputant means.

We shall also read these views of the venerated Princeton divine well knowing that he will hold that our Calvinism *ought* to bring us to his conclusions on the topics where we differ; but no man understands better than Dr. Hodge that it is unwarrantable to impute to an antagonist all the consequences of his views as seen from our stand-point, or even as actually deduced.

But having said thus, we do not risk much in predicting that when time has been given for the reviewers to speak, there will be no general nor authoritative dissent from the Calvinism of the Soteriology of Dr. Hodge among the ministry of the Presbyterian Church, Old School or New. This may be asserted with even less qualification than that which we made in respect to the forms of statement of Augustine and Calvin and our own Confession.

If this prove true, it is an instructive fact. Does this indicate the elimination of the Augustinian theology? Does this look like laying Calvin's Institutes in the grave of quiet neglect, as something which the growing centuries have passed beyond? Let it be remembered just here, that by the author of these volumes there have been theologically trained a larger number of Presbyterian ministers than by any other living man, or perhaps any two or three. Whatever may be our individual preferences, the theology therein taught pervades our Church. The Augustinian theology, in its stricter forms, is seated in the chairs of many of our theological seminaries; perhaps it might be said, more even of its philosophy is there than for some past years.*

With regard to the averment that our Calvinism is the same that it has been, and with no wider difference in less essential points and modes of statement than has existed for many years, let me direct the attention of the reader to the comments of Albert Barnes on the famous ninth chapter of Romans, which has always been regarded by Calvinists as their impregnable

* We again call to mind that the question is not, What is taught in chairs and tomes, but, *What is heard in the pews?*

stronghold. Mr. Barnes was always and every-where known as an advanced New School theologian. No man was ever more fair-minded, or more open to all genial liberalizing influences from sister denominations and from the age he lived in and for which he did so much. No man more distinctly represented the theology of a certain portion of the Presbyterian Church than Mr. Barnes; yet the reader of his commentary on the chapter referred to will find as clear an enunciation of the doctrines of predestination and election as in the volumes that come from Princeton. What Dr. Hodge teaches in a more scholastic way, Mr. Barnes, having a different audience to address, teaches in a familiar way. But the teaching is the same.

The copy of Barnes on Romans which is before me bears the imprint of 1842, thirty years ago, but it expresses unchanged the views of the very same class of men who form to-day no unimportant portion of the Presbyterian Church. Now when it is remembered that the Commentaries of Barnes have a wider circulation than any other similar publication of our own and perhaps of any age—having run up into the millions—that they have not been superseded, for their special purpose, by any later ones, and that they are in the hands of hundreds of thousands of laymen, parents, Sunday-school teachers, and others, and that he is avowedly and consistently Calvinistic, it may not be altogether correct to say that Calvinism is “eliminated” from the land, nor that “the general religious consciousness of the country recognizes it as effete.” *

As we pass on to some further proofs of our position, the readers of this article will pardon the author of it if he indulges in a familiar way of illustration which may fortify the main argument.

The name of Dr. Hodge suggests, in connection with our topic, some famous theological conflicts now of the former

*We had always supposed that Albert Barnes' Calvinism was so Arminian that he was put to judicial trial for heresy; that he had to modify his Commentary to meet Calvinistic demands. The volume of the “Presbyterian Board of Publication,” entitled “Old and New,” handles him severely as Arminian. Mr. Barnes' Commentary has been widely circulated among Methodists by Methodist ministers under the idea that his Calvinism was so thin and so occultly diffused as to be imperceptible to our people. Certainly the expression of his Calvinism, although it does exist, by no means compares in explicitness with that of Dr. Hodge. Had it been so, its popularity would scarce have existed even with Calvinistic Churches—certainly it would never have circulated, as too widely it has, among Methodists.

generation. He has been in the high places of the field. Somewhere he playfully alludes to his doctrinal castle as an Ehrenbreitstein from which he fears no dislodgment.* I think the word fell out in a light skirmish which he had with Professor Park about the Theology of the Intellect and the Feelings; but it is many years since I read of the fray, though I did read both sides with interest.

From this citadel the good and great Professor has again and again led out the Old School hosts to battle. In one or two of these theologic onsets I felt a special interest. The review of "Beman on the Atonement" was in my possession, when in my early ministry I was assistant pastor with Dr. Beman in the old First Church of Troy. It had been issued several years, and yet the Doctor had not seen it until I put it in his hands. It can hardly be called a gentle review. Indeed, theologic combats are not often what pleasant Sir Walter calls the tournament of Ashby de la Zouch—"The gentle and free passage of arms." But Beman was an old warrior, used to rough intellectual bouts, and as he read the pamphlet he would shake it in his lifted hand and thrust out a terse argument or indignant remonstrance, much to my interest and amusement. I seem to see him now—but the old chiefs are nearly gone! What led me to recall the incident was the undoubted fact that Dr. Beman was always regarded as standing on the outmost verge of the New School ranks, and yet there was no firmer Calvinist in the Presbyterian Church than he. At one time he had a sort of Theological Institute of his own, where he taught the Governmental theory of the Atonement, and cognate views of divine justice, which were any thing but orthodox in the eyes of Princeton; but he was a bold assertor of the Calvinistic points, and preached them unhesitatingly from his pulpit. There are not a few who hold his views at the present time, who have yet to learn that Calvinism has

* His Tolbooth, we should rather say. Dr. Hodge's system is, indeed, the most unflinching fatalism—and so the most consistent Calvinism—we know at the present day. Yet whether even he can squarely avow Infant Damnation with Calvin, Edwards, and the Articles of the Presbyterian Church, we are uninformed. From this, as a persistent logician, as we have already shown, he ought not to shrink. God might as justly reprobate a helpless infant as reprobate a man before he was an infant, and eternally before he was born. Either would be damning a human being for what he could not help.

dropped out of their belief, or has become effete in their ministrations.*

Another of the encounters in which the Princeton professor was engaged was memorable in its day, and is also instructive in this connection. It is yet famous in the regions of my old Alma Mater in New Haven. Although before my day, yet a somewhat intimate association with Doctors Taylor and Fitch on the one hand, and some dear Princeton friends on the other, led me to read both sides of the able and memorable discussion between the New Haven and the Princeton divines.

Those, if there be any, who suppose that discussion to have had reference to the doctrines of Foreordination and Election are altogether mistaken.† These may have been involved as

*Precisely what Dr. Beman preached regarding Predestination thirty or forty years ago is hardly relevant to the present question. If he agreed with Taylor, Fitch, and Finney, he did endeavor to amalgamate a large amount of Arminianism with his Calvinism.

† We think Dr. Aikman would do well to reconsider, also, this statement. Somewhere about the year 1830 Dr. Wilbur Fisk, subsequently President of the Wesleyan University, published a sermon of rare compactness and power on Predestination. Dr. Fisk was born in New England, was educated among Calvinists, graduated at a Calvinistic University, and was a thorough master of both Calvinistic and Methodistic theology. His sermon raised an excitement in Calvinistic ranks, was reviewed by seven or eight periodicals, and among others by Dr. Fitch, co-leader with Dr. Taylor of New Haven divinity, in an extended article of forty-seven pages in the "Christian Spectator," at New Haven, the then organ of the New Divinity. In that review Professor Fitch professes to state two views of predestination: namely, the Old School Calvinistic view, *against which he affirmed that Dr. Fisk's argument was conclusive and unanswerable*, and his own view, which he expounded, and maintained to be untouched by Dr. Fisk's logic; and he faulted Dr. Fisk for not duly making the distinction between the two. Dr. Fisk replied that the faulting was unjustifiable, for he had *never before heard that the first was not the true and only Calvinistic view* extant, and that the second, which Dr. Fitch claimed to be both Calvinistic and his own, was not Calvinistic but Arminian, and was essentially the view of his sermon, held from his youth up, and learned from the old standards of Methodism. Said Dr. Fisk, in a subsequent chapter of his Calvinistic Controversy: "If these gentlemen should ask me why I published my sermon in terms that included Calvinists generally, without making the exception in their favor, I answer, 1. The views of Dr. Taylor and 'those who believe with him,' on this particular point, were unknown to me at the time. Nor is this strange, for it is but lately that those views have been fully developed—never so fully before, probably, as in Dr. Fitch's review of my sermon, already alluded to. 2. It never occurred to me that any man or any set of men holding, in respect to predestination, the doctrine of James Arminius, John Wesley, and the whole body of Methodists, would call themselves Calvinists! This is all the apology I have, and whether or not it is sufficient the public must judge."—P. 103. To this Dr. Fitch

collateral points, as side issues, as relating to the bearings and consequences of the truths in debate, but the truths debated were, Our Connection with Adam, the Nature of Sin, Human Ability. Princeton pretty plainly alleged that New Haven had forsaken the Calvinistic fathers as respects

ingeniously but not ingenuously replied, that he was glad that *he had so presented Calvinism that Dr. Fisk, was constrained to accept it.* Of course, with those who read Dr. Fitch's story alone, that gentleman got the credit of compelling Dr. Fisk to accept Calvinism! With Methodists it gained Dr. Fitch any thing but respect. For that, however, Dr. Fitch had no need to entertain any concern, as Methodist opinions were not his object. His object was to encompass a large segment of Arminianism into the "New Divinity," and yet label the whole incongruous lump "Calvinism." And what method so felicitous as to accomplish this in ostensibly defending Calvinism against the Arminians?

We have no copy at hand of Dr. Fitch's article, but the following is Dr. Fisk's view of its positions: "By God's foreordaining whatsoever comes to pass he (Dr. Fitch) only means that God foresaw that sin would certainly take place, and predetermined that he would not hinder it, either by refraining from creating moral agents, or by throwing a restraint upon them that would destroy their free agency. In short, that he would submit to it as an evil unavoidably incident to the best possible system, after doing all that he wisely could to prevent it! This is *fore-ordaining sin!* This is *predetermining* that it *should be!*"

The Presbyterian Board of Publication have published a book, by James Wood, D.D., on "Old and New Theology," from which we extract the following testimony: "They (the positions assumed by Dr. Taylor and others) involve a denial of the divine decrees; for if God does not possess such absolute control over his creatures that he can govern them according to his pleasure, how could he have decreed any thing unconditionally concerning them, since it might happen that in the exercise of their free agency they would act contrary to the divine purpose? On the same principle they virtually reject the Calvinistic doctrine of election, and make election depend upon the foreknowledge of God and the will of the creature. This is actually the way in which Mr. Finney explains the doctrine. 'The elect, then,' says he, 'must be those whom God foresaw could be converted under the wisest administration of his government. That administering it in a way that would be most beneficial to all worlds, exerting such an amount of moral influence on every individual as would result, on the whole, in the greatest good to his divine kingdom, he foresaw that certain individuals could, with this wisest amount of moral influence, be reclaimed and sanctified, and for this reason they were chosen to eternal life. 'The elect were chosen to eternal life, because God foresaw that in the perfect exercise of their freedom they could be induced to repent and embrace the Gospel.' Mr. Tyler, from whose sermon we have already quoted, gives the same explanation of this doctrine, or, in other words, virtually denies it. 'God foresees,' he observes, 'whom he *can* make willing in the day of his power, and resolves that they shall be saved.' Professor Fitch also advances the same idea in his review of Dr. Fisk's discourse on Predestination and Election in the 'Christian Spectator.'"—Pp. 33-35.

Dr. Taylor's own language we shall soon quote. But perhaps we have said enough to suggest to Dr. Aikman a reconsideration of his statement.

these doctrines, but nothing was said about heresy in regard to the decrees.*

Just in this connection, and because the quotation in the "Methodist" from the "Independent" suggests the point, let me say that the term "Strict Calvinism" will bear defining when used in connection with Dr. N. W. Taylor, or other prominent New England divines of the later period.

The well-remembered controversy in the earlier part of this century, which lasted for twenty-five years, which had New Haven and East Windsor as its central points, and Dr. Taylor and Dr. Tyler as its leaders, which separated Nettleton from Taylor, and almost estranged them, did not mainly involve the special Calvinistic doctrines. These, indeed, came in for discussion; but the differences were principally with regard to Moral Agency, the Nature of Sin and Holiness, Regeneration, and Dr. Taylor's theory of the Foundation of Right. Dr. Tyler at a later day said, "The controversy was respecting the best mode of stating and defending the doctrines of Calvinism," which is perhaps the most correct and succinct description possible of the whole matter.† In a letter written by Nettleton from his death-bed, to Dr. Taylor, two days after a touching visit made by the latter to his dying brother, the great revivalist gives his final testimony against "some things published" by Dr. Taylor, "particularly on the subject of self-love, and the great doctrine of Regeneration."

Dr. Taylor had a great, perhaps an exaggerated, repugnance to be called after the name of any man; he never would have said "I am of Apollos." How "strict," however, his Calvinism was is very easily ascertained. Among the four volumes of his works is one on "Revealed Theology," with a brief Introduction by Dr. (now President) Noah Porter. It contains four sermons on Election and one on Perseverance. Dr.

* If this means that predestination was a subordinate and not a co-ordinate topic in the New Haven discussion, it needs, we think, a correction. On all these points the New Divinity was alike charged, and truly charged, with verging toward Arminianism, except upon those points where they overleaped Arminianism and vaulted into semi-Pelagianism.

† Not quite so. That was Dr. Fitch's *ruse*, as already said, which did not gain our respect. For we Methodists have self-conceit enough to believe that we know the difference between our Arminianism amalgamated with elements of Calvinism and a mere "mode of stating Calvinism."

Porter says: "These sermons were prepared with great care, after the author had been for many years a theological instructor, and were always read in the place of lectures to his students, it being a favorite opinion with him that no truth of the Scriptures could be exhibited with so much effect by the preacher, and that in no truth, when rightly exhibited, was the Gospel made so glorious as 'the power of God unto salvation.'"

The sermons on Election are worthy to be studied by men of all views as exhibitions of pulpit power; preached as Dr. Taylor preached them, they must have seemed great indeed, for I have heard him when I thought him unsurpassed in pulpit power by any man I ever heard. How far he was Calvinistic may be known when he defines the doctrine of Election in these words: "That God has eternally purposed to renew, and sanctify, and save a part only of mankind." "The orthodox doctrine is not an election to salvation, or a purpose of God to save on condition of repentance and faith, as unknown and uncertain events, as maintained by some Pelagian and Arminian writers." "The orthodox doctrine is not that God has purposed to save a part of mankind on condition of foreseen repentance and faith." If this is "modified Arminianism,"* some of us would be happy to have it pervade all the

* Not having these sermons at hand, we are unable to say how far the passages quoted may be so environed by definitions and qualifications as to render them consistent with Dr. Taylor's Arminian views of election elsewhere expressed. Dr. Aikman must know, however, that Dr. Taylor was abundantly charged with inconsistencies and self-contradictions by his old school friends on this and other points. It is not wonderful if at times he felt it necessary to chalk up to genuine Calvinism, for if we rightly remember he was pledged by his professorial vows to defend Calvinism against all Arminianism, Pelagianism, Atheism, and other bad isms. There is no reason to doubt that Dr. Fitch's article, already adduced, was the expression of Dr. Taylor's views. Dr. Taylor's leading positions, that God always and in all cases prefers holiness to sin, that he secures holiness in men just so far as their unviolated free agency permits, certainly conditioned the sinner's election upon the choice of the man, and not, with Calvinism, solely on the arbitrary "good pleasure" of God. "Election," he said, "involves nothing more, as it respects his (the sinner's) individual case, except one fact—the certainty to the divine mind whether the sinner will yield to the means of grace, and voluntarily turn to God, or whether he will continue to harden his heart till the means of grace are withdrawn."—*Ch. Spectator*, 1831, p. 637. This contradicts the Calvinism of the above passages; bases God's decree on his foreknowledge; is modified Arminianism; is conformed to Dr. Taylor's usual theology; and we "would be happy to have it pervade all the pulpits of the" Presbyterian Church.

pulpits of the Methodist Episcopal Church; possibly we might in that case conclude that some other thing than Calvinism was "eliminated."

This doctrine Dr. Taylor *preached*, and he probably preached it as often as any man in New England, although it is well known that Mr. Nettleton was much in the habit of preaching, toward the close of a powerful revival of religion, on the subject of Election, and with great effect; and it is difficult to believe that there has ever been a preacher in this country who knew better how to adapt preaching to the purpose of leading men to Christ than Asabel Nettleton.*

May I introduce here a personal reminiscence? I once carefully prepared and preached to my people a sermon on Romans ix, 18: "Therefore hath he mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth." The doctrine taught was, Not that God puts forth a positive efficiency to harden the heart of a sinner, which is simply inconceivable, and, as President Edwards says, would make God the immediate author of sin, but that God may place a sinner in circumstances where his heart will be hardened by the abuse of the very mercies freely extended unto him, and that God may at any moment, and to whom he will, shut down the gates of mercy forever. A few hours after its delivery a husband and wife called on me asking the jailer's great question. They said the sermon had made them fear lest if they did not flee to Jesus at once, God might see fit to harden them as he had hardened Pharaoh. It was the impression which the discourse was prayerfully designed to produce. They became believers, and are still members of the Christian Church. Some time after, I preached the same discourse in a New England Congregational pulpit, the pastor being present. At the close, one of the deacons, an Arminian in sentiment, said to his pastor with

* We could cheerfully indorse the high eulogy both of Dr. Taylor (on a former page) and of Dr. Nettleton, but not such eulogy as to sweep down all others in comparison. We have several times heard Dr. Taylor, and have had his sermons on our shelf, but were by no means impressed with his eminence as a preacher. And it may be modestly imagined that a Church that has spread as rapidly as Methodism, has been favored with evangelists quite equal in a preaching adapted to conversion to the sainted Nettleton. We think we could name many. However, Dr. Aikman's language probably intends to sweep within the horizon of his own denomination, though we think a careful modesty should say so.

a spice of displeasure, "What is the good of preaching such doctrine as that?" The reply of the pastor was, "Well, what is the good of having such doctrine in the Bible?" The point of the story is, that this pastor is a disciple of Dr. Taylor, and thoroughly at one with him in his theological beliefs. The author of this article has no right to speak for New Haven, having had his theological training in New York under the late Dr. White; but he presumes that Dr. Leonard Bacon would give an easy answer to the question whether the theologians in and near New Haven who have outlived their great teacher and logician either fear to preach on the themes which he deemed so practical, or preach them in a way which might be called a "modified Arminianism." *

Of the assertion that "Calvinism, whether Supralapsarian or Sublapsarian, is now seldom uttered in American pulpits, and that the general religious consciousness of the country recognizes it as effete," this may be said: That the decrees of God need not and ought not to form the common or frequent topics of preaching, while yet they may form, as we believe they do, the solid basis of the whole system of eternal Gospel truth and grace. The decrees of God are the independent determinations of the divine mind. Why should they, how can they, form the constant, or even frequent, topics of a Gospel pulpit, whose mission it is to be occupied with the direct overtures of God in Christ to a sinful and blood-purchased world; although, seeing that these overtures involve the severity, as well as the goodness, of God, they may have their solemn and appropriate place, to know which is the part of ministerial wisdom and responsibility. So far as my observation extends, Calvinists have not greatly erred in this regard. I very well know some who in my judgment make these special points too prominent. No one doubts the Calvinism of Jonathan Edwards. He was at times an awful preacher. Few men would now choose to use some of his language; not every man would have courage so to do even if he believed as Edwards did. But of the half hundred sermons of

* We are under no necessity of obtruding any inquiries upon Dr. Bacon. We very well know what Drs. Fitch and Taylor taught in regard to predestination; and if the present New Haven Congregational divines preach conformably thereto, we cheerfully commend their Gospel as that much non-Calvinistic and as "modified Arminianism." Does Dr. Aikman esteem our commendation as a condemnation?

his that have come down to us, how many are there which, so far as their Calvinism is concerned, could not have been preached from an Arminian pulpit? Not more than one; and many an Arminian will not much object to that—his sermon on Divine Sovereignty.

Those who choose to make themselves familiar with the sermons of President Davies, published in three closely-printed volumes, and among the most powerful ever preached in America, will find the same to be true of that great preacher, firm Calvinist as he was.

The truth is, there is much misconception as to the prominence given in ordinary pulpit ministrations to the doctrine of election. In this respect the Calvinistic pulpits of this day do not differ much from those of half a century ago, and probably we might with truth go much further back than that.* There is not so much difference in this respect as there is in both Arminian and Calvinistic pulpits in the frequency with which the doctrine of eternal punishment is now preached as compared with former times.

In drawing this article to a close let me in all fraternal kindness say, that many of us Calvinists feel that one of the chief things our Arminian brethren need to do for us is to understand us better, both as to our doctrines and our position. The editorial, found in such a quarter, seems, not to the writer alone, but to every Calvinistic friend to whom he has shown it, layman as well as clergyman, to be the most striking proof of this which any of us have lately met.† Many years ago, in a

* On this subject the "Presbyterian Board of Publication" says: "A half century ago it was sufficient to know that a man was a Presbyterian minister, in order to feel assured that he was sound in the faith according to the Calvinistic sense of this phrase. But for ten years previous to 1837 this test was quite insufficient. Under the Presbyterian name, and with Presbyterian credentials, ministers passed from congregation to congregation in certain parts of our country, and promulgated Arminian, and even Pelagian, tenets. . . . But in 1835 (the Old School being in the majority) the Assembly decided that 'it is the right of every Presbytery to be entirely satisfied of the soundness in the faith of those ministers who apply to be admitted into the Presbytery as members.' This was a *partial* remedy of the evil; but our former unity of sentiment was not restored until the separate organization of the New School body."—*Old and New Theology*, pp. 279, 280. This testimony confesses that New School Presbyterianism, and implies that Congregationalism were too much Arminianized for their fellowship.

† We can parallel it only by a passage in a letter from Dr. Porter, of Andover Seminary, to Dr. Beecher, published during the New Divinity controversy; in these

book store, I casually took up a volume, whose author and whose subject I have quite forgotten, but this sentence from it comes to my memory: "The two extremes of unconditional salvation, Calvinism and Universalism." Now the decrees of God are unconditional as being the self-originated, independent purposes of the divine mind, but the salvation which is decreed is a salvation whose conditions are faith, repentance, and love. Of course I do not impute such random writing as the above quotation to the men to whom I speak,* but still it may not be amiss to say that in all the world there are none who endeavor more fully to proclaim the conditions of salvation than we do; and in no pulpits is a Gospel preached whose terms are more free, whose grace is more available, and whose

words: "Arminianism received from the hand of Edwards its death-blow, of which it lingered more than half a century in New England, and died."

* Dr. Aikman here seems to be unaware of some of the positions of the elder Calvinism itself. One of its branches held that all decreed by the unconditional decree was itself unconditional. Faith and repentance were but a part of the salvation so decreed, and therefore were no conditions of it. Three of Mr. Wesley's publications were aimed against this truly logical view. Vol. VI, pp. 68-81, and 96-99. We can name an American Calvinist who declared that "there is not such a thing as a condition of salvation in the Bible." The writer here reprehended by Dr. Aikman well knew the Calvinism we *once* had to encounter. Calvinism has grown Arminian since, and adopted *in words* conditional salvation, universal atonement, free-will, infant salvation, and even "self-determining power." The Calvinism of sixty years ago largely repudiated them all.

Yet, on a former page, (page 313,) Dr. Aikman himself repudiates "conditional salvation"! He quotes two propositions from Dr. N. W. Taylor, in which that theologian denies that God does "save *on condition* of repentance and faith" either "as unknown and uncertain events," or "as foreseen." That is, there are no "conditional salvation," and no "conditions of salvation." Dr. Aikman earnestly applauds the enunciation of these propositions; he "would be happy to have it pervade all the pulpits of the Methodist Episcopal Church." And yet Dr. Aikman exultingly claims before this paragraph closes, "there are none who endeavor more fully to proclaim *the conditions of salvation* than we!"

Want of space prevents our demonstrating that Dr. Hodge's theology, so eulogized by Dr. Aikman, excludes "conditional salvation." Briefly we may indicate that Dr. Hodge enounces that the great distinctive between Calvinism and Arminianism is that the former makes God the author of our salvation, the latter man. Now Arminianism makes man the author of his own salvation only as performer of "conditions" by God prescribed. This Dr. Hodge clearly excludes. It may, therefore, be shown, with an adamantive logic, that the issue between us and Dr. Hodge is the *conditionality of salvation*. And here crops out the grand schism between the Calvinistic pulpits and the Calvinistic chairs; between the popular sermons and the standard tomes. But the real deeper issue is between the people and the theology; between the nineteenth century and Calvinism.

faith will more certainly secure salvation, than in the Calvinistic pulpits of America.*

Albert Barnes has somewhere said that some men are born Arminians and some men Calvinists. There is a great deal of

* And so, we doubt not, Dr. Aikman preaches, heartily, sincerely, and eloquently. But we deny his logical right as a Calvinist to do so. He has no right to exhort men to do otherwise than God has willed, decreed, and foreordained they shall do. He has no right to hold men guilty for fulfilling God's decree and will. He has no right to offer salvation to those whom God has eternally and unchangeably excluded from salvation. He has no right to exhort men to repent, who by volitional necessity cannot repent. He has no right to say "they can if they will," when he knows that, by the laws of psychological causation, they cannot will. It is sophistical for him to say "they can will if they *please*," when he knows they cannot "*please*." It is inhumane for him to tell "impenitent sinners" that it is just for them to be damned for their impenitence, when he knows that they are impenitent because God wills them to be impenitent. If God has decreed men's sins, what an awful sinner is Dr. Aikman, who stands up in the pulpit to oppose and defeat God's decrees! Surely, if God has decreed a thing, the thing is right! If the sinner is damned for fulfilling God's decrees, ought not the imaginary god to be damned, *a fortiori*, who makes such decrees? Is not the god a cruel hypocrite who would eternally by decree exclude a vast mass of mankind from salvation, and then mock them with the offer of salvation? And what a treacherous hypocrite is that god who, while proclaiming a public will that men should be holy and be saved, still maintains under cover "a secret will" that they should be wicked and damned! And how doubly a treacherous hypocrite must he be when, with regard to a large part of mankind, he takes care that his saving public will shall be defeated, and his damning "secret will" accomplished! How "is grace available" to the man who is decreed by God never to accept "that grace," and whose will is volitionally necessitated to reject that "grace?" What if "faith will secure salvation," if the power of faith does not exist and is withheld by God at his own good pleasure? We Arminians, on the contrary, preach a salvation free from all these clamps and fetters. We say to the sinner, "God now puts salvation at the decision of your own will; no decree forged in a back eternity determines how you shall choose; no dark reprobation has sealed your doom; no limitation fences up the atonement from any one of you; no volitional necessity determines your choice for sin." Now none of these broad and glorious announcements of a free salvation can the Calvinistic pulpit make without contradicting its creed. And it is doubtless the seeming freeness of the Calvinistic offers of salvation that makes the people say, "Calvinism is not preached now."

Let us suppose, what is no impossible case, that Dr. Aikman is called to preach somewhere to a congregation which, in secret fact, is composed entirely of Reprobates. *First*, God's foreordination fixing their every volition from the womb to the grave, and determining them to sin and death, has made them victims of hell and eternity before they were born, with no possibility of reversal; so that they are to be irrevocably damned for what they cannot help. *Second*, Born from Adam, for his sin they are also given over to irreversible spiritual impotency to repent; and so are again irrevocably damned for what they cannot help. *Third*, By God's will they are so placed under the influences of motives that they must

truth in the remark. Men are constitutionally disposed to certain beliefs as well as to certain forms. There were Calvinists before Calvin, and there were Arminians before Arminius. Augustine himself held the main position of the latter in his earlier days, although he afterward retracted it, and wrote with all his great power against it. We repeat, that neither will eliminate the other: "the thing that hath been, it is that which shall be." So let us be tolerant, and wisely

sin without any power of contrary choice;" so that they are thrice irrevocably damned for what they cannot help. Now can any one stand up and offer a free salvation to that poor company of Reprobates without a most flagrant falsehood? Is it not the very archfiend's mock to speak, as Dr. Aikman does above, of "terms free," "grace" available, "faith securing salvation," for this mass of pre-damned creatures? "Grace" for pre-doomed Reprobates for whom God's treacherous "secret will" never meant any "grace;" whom his foreordination has forever excluded from "grace;" whose depraved impotence by nature renders them incapable of accepting "grace," and whose wills are bound by causative necessity to reject "grace!" Were we one of these Reprobates (and we confess our moral feelings are entirely on their side) we should certainly beg Dr. Aikman, or any other preacher of "grace," to spare us such grim demoniac irony. It is bad enough to be damned, but it is worse to have the damnation aggravated by such tantalizing and insulting gospel. We should think, if one of the lot, that the last finishing drop in the cup of unjust damnation was a Calvinist's preaching to us a free salvation.

Yet we cheerfully trust that Dr. Aikman will not cease to obey the expansiveness of his own heart, and continue, unlimited by his narrow creed, to preach a broad and free salvation. It is by this, compelled by the example of Methodism, that the Calvinistic pulpit itself is "eliminating" Calvinism and rendering it "effete," and making the people say that no Calvinism is preached. Place before their eyes the Calvinistic creed, lying back of the pulpit, in the books and the schools, and they at once boastfully answer, "*Our minister does not hold such doctrines; he preaches a free salvation just like the Methodists.*" And it is this very fact, of the preaching a free salvation, so freely confessed by Dr. Aikman, that bases and largely justifies the statement of the *Methodist*. This same fact also both explains the polemic peace we specified above, and furnishes the reason why Calvinism is not now so deleterious in this country as Methodism first found it to be. And this fact, too, is prophetic of the time when Calvinism shall be as fully eliminated from Christian theology as it was for the first three centuries of the Church. Methodism has demonstrated the utter non-necessity of Calvinism for either a deep Christian piety, or a sweeping Christian success. That understood, the preaching a free salvation will melt away the limitations of dogma, and fatalism will be relegated to the domains of philosophy. Predestination in theology is a surplusage and a superfluity. Banish that to the domains of metaphysics, and in theology and homiletics we are at one. And it is through this route we desecrate the future doctrinal oneness of the evangelic Church. The so-called Calvinistic pulpits are preaching away the Calvinistic creed. We Methodists stopped debate when we saw that they were so fully doing our work for us.

endeavor to understand each other. It ought not to seem reasonable that thousands of ordained ministers of Christ should profess a doctrine which they do not hold; or, with puny irresolution, should secretly hold a doctrine which the general religious consciousness of the country recognizes as effete.* No; let these two great phases of theologic thought live side by side, as they have done for ages, and let them live peacefully. In the wise consideration of each other's views we may both learn more than either now knows. We both have need to veil our faces before the greatness of God's ways. Perhaps our humility may be profitably directed earthward far enough to prevent either of us from towering so high in our denominational consciousness as to imagine that the other is submerged out of the sight of the world.

ART. VII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY, January, 1873. (Philadelphia.)—1. Position of the Baptists in the History of American Culture. 2. The Second Century: A Chapter in Church History. 3. Skepticism and Scholarship. 4. The Prayer Test. 5. Darwinism. 6. Paradise. 7. Death-Bed Repentance. 8. Baptism, a Positive Law.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, January, 1873. (Andover.)—1. Christian Ernest Luthardt's Refutation of False Views as to the Design of St. John's Gospel. 2. The Diaconate. 3. The Chinese Language. 4. The Scriptural Doctrine of the Triumph of Christ's Kingdom distinguished from Millenarianism. 5. The Natural Basis of our Spiritual Language. 6. Paul's Panegyric of Love.—A New Critical Text, Translation, and Digest. 7. Unconscious Greek Prophecy. 8. The Purifying Messiah.—Interpretation of Isaiah lii, 15. 9. Contributions to History.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY, January, 1873. (Cincinnati.)—1. Excommunication. 2. The Downfall of the Secular Papacy. 3. Popular Amusements as Seen Through the Law of Christ. 4. Church Organization *versus* Church Government. 5. Sunday-Schools, and their Importance in Missionary Work. 6. The Representative Character of Christ.

MERCERSBURG REVIEW, January, 1873. (Philadelphia.)—1. Infidelity—Its Principles. 2. The Crisis in the Conflict between the Crescent and the Cross. 3. The Naturalness of Christianity. 4. The Mission of Philosophy. 5. Woman's Culture. 6. The Sunday-School Movement in its Relation to the Cause of Educational Religion. 7. Conscience and the Vatican. 8. Regeneration and Conversion. 9. The Forgiveness of Sin.

* Yet as an objective fact, repeating that we impugn not the *men*, we maintain that *this stupendous contradiction does exist*. It is because of its existence that we are an Arminian. An uneasy sense of that contradiction pervades the minds of our Calvinistic brethren, but is evaded under the plea of mystery, etc. On the other hand, *we* rest in the harmony of our creed, and desire for them the same happy position.

NEW ENGLANDER, AND CONGREGATIONAL REVIEW, January, 1873. (New Haven.)—1. Herbert Spencer's Laws of the Knowable. 2. In Memoriam. 3. August Comte and Positivism. 4. Prison Discipline as a Science. 5. Bushnell's Sermons on Living Subjects. 6. Casuistry. 7. Name-Words in the Vernacular. 8. American Landscape Painters. 9. The Treaty of Washington in 1871.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER AND ANTIQUARIAN JOURNAL, January, 1873. (Boston.)—1. Memoir of the Hon. William Willis, LL.D. 2. Births, Marriages, and Deaths in Portsmouth, N. H. 3. Letters and Journal of Col. John May, of Boston. 4. Passages in the Life of Priscilla (Thomas) Hobart. 5. Rear-Admiral Nehemiah Bourne. 6. Family Record of John Appleton, born 1652. 7. Richard Cranch and his Family. 8. Samuel Johnson, D.D., of Connecticut. 9. Freeholders of Rowley, (Mass.) 1677. 10. Graduates of Middlebury College who married in Middlebury, Vt. 11. Sable Island. 12. Witchcraft Papers. 13. Captain John Haskins' Company of Militia, 1773. 14. Petition of the Connecticut Soldiers in the Revolutionary Army to Governor Trumbull. 15. Inscriptions from Grave-stones in Seabrook, N. H. 16. Hampton Falls and the Rev. Paine Wingate. 17. Early Settlers of Stratford, Conn. 18. Letter-Missive from the Town of Canterbury, N. H., to the Fourth Church in Hampton, N. H. 19. Seals of the City of Richmond, Va., with Facsimiles of the same. 20. The Lippitt Family of Rhode Island. 21. The Plymouth Shermans. 22. The Crane Family. 23. The Hayes Family of Connecticut and New Jersey. 24. The Hutchinson and Sandford Families.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, January, 1873. (Boston.)—1. The Rise of Napoleonism. 2. Henry Flood, and the Condition of Ireland from Swift to O'Connell. 3. Capital and Labor. 4. Causes of the Commune. 5. Björnstjerne Björnson as a Dramatist. 6. The Rationale of the Opposition to Capital Punishment. 6. Mixed Populations of North Carolina.

PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, January, 1873. (New York.)—1. Berkeley's Philosophy. 2. "The Dispensation of the Fullness of Times." 3. Woman's Place in Assemblies for Public Worship. 4. Dr. Dörner's System of Theology. 5. Catholic and Protestant Treatment of the Evidences. 6. Why Are Not More Persons Converted Under our Ministry? 7. Beneficiary Education for the Ministry. 8. Who was the Sister of our Lord's Mother? 9. The Presbytery of Wandsworth, erected in 1572. 10. Dr. Forbes on Romans vs. Dr. Hodge.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, January, 1873. (Gettysburg.)—1. Feeling as Related to Faith. 2. The Millennial Era of the Christian Church. 3. The Church. 4. Professor Tyndall's Test of Prayer. 5. The Ministerium. 6. The Position in the Church of Baptized Non-Confirmed Members. 7. Popular Theaters Two Thousand Years Ago.

THEOLOGICAL MEDIUM, A CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY, January, 1873. (Nashville.)—1. The Importance of our Colleges to the Church. 2. The Moral Law. 3. The Transfiguration of Christ. 4. The Doctrine of Reprobation Defined and Explained. 5. The Age of the Patriarch Job—The Learning of his Times—His Typical Character. 6. Education our Country's Safety. 7. Japan. 8. Sunday-Schools, and their Importance in Missionary Work.

SOUTHERN REVIEW, January, 1873. (Baltimore.)—1. The Present Crisis. 2. Solar Spots, Prominences, etc. 3. Paris and its People. 4. Smith's Blanchet's Legendre. 5. Armageddon. 6. Jesus of the Evangelists. 7. Oceanic Circulation. 8. Peggy O'Neal; or, The Doom of the Republic. 9. Poem.

With the exception of Brownson's Romanistic Quarterly Review, we know no Quarterly in the country but the SOUTHERN which can properly be called a *Politico-Ecclesiastical Quarterly Review*. Other professedly religious Quarterlies present, exceptionally, political articles; but none but the Southern has a regular staple department of trenchant, par-

tisan, and often violent manifestoes. What renders this fact specially noteworthy is the regular appearance on its cover of the notice, "PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH." This announcement is by authority, we suppose, of the General Conference of that Church, and under the supervision of the bishops. The review is authoritatively indorsed, particularly its political articles, in the weekly papers of that Church, and is pressingly recommended as a denominational Review to the patronage of its ministers and laity by the accomplished book-agent, Dr. Redford. Conferences pass resolutions indorsing the Quarterly by name; and a book noticed in our Book-Table, (p. 347,) entitled, or rather mistitled, THE M. E. CHURCHES NORTH AND SOUTH, written by one of its bishops, and published as an Article in this Review, is earnestly recommended for circulation in book form among their people. This politico-ecclesiastical Quarterly is, therefore, the highest organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. It speaks for that Church to the world. It speaks for that Church to that Church. It indoctrinates its people, is accepted both by ministry and people; and while it thus secures the unanimity of that Church, it tells the world what the unanimity of that Church declares. What this Southern Review, in its regular departments, fully and uncontradictedly says, the Southern Methodist Church says. And what this Review, regularly and unchangingly, is, namely, ecclesiastico-political, *that the Southern Methodist Church is, ecclesiastico-political.*

We may, therefore, properly style this Quarterly the
POLITICAL ORGAN OF A PROFESSEDLY NON-POLITICAL CHURCH.

Since this Review, therefore, creates and expounds the politics of the Southern Church, it is of some consequence to know what its politics are: that is, what are the politics of Southern politico-ecclesiastical Methodism. We may, therefore, reply, authorized by its manifestoes through this Quarterly, that they are very extreme. They are to the fullest extent DENATIONALIZING. They are more extreme than the reveries of John C. Calhoun himself. Mr. Calhoun taught the doctrine that any State has the right to *nullify* any law of Congress, yet remain in the Union. This Review teaches

that any State may, by a mere act of legislation, rightfully *secede* from the Union. To many this difference, namely, between *nullification* and *secession*, may seem unimportant—the two being respectively but the *tweedledum* and *tweedledee* of treason. But there seems to be this difference, that Mr. Calhoun destroys the Constitution by simply reducing us back to the condition of the old Confederacy, while this Review's theory—the theory of Southern Methodism—would legitimately, and in strict accordance with the Constitution, split us into thirty or sixty independent, and at any moment hostile, nations. We are no longer a NATION, but an agglomeration; we have not a Constitution, but a league of associate *natiunculae*. This may be properly called ultra-Calhounism; meaning thereby something a little beyond the nullification doctrine of John C. Calhoun. And if our late war was, on the part of our Government, constitutional and right, then this doctrine is treason in theory, just as the war by the South was treason in practice.

To discuss these *phantasmata politica* is not our present purpose. Ours is not, like the Southern Review, a *political* Quarterly. We were taught by our political parentage that we had a country larger than one particular State; we never dreamed that seriously this New Jersey, where we write, was a nation; and, even in spite of the Lynch judiciary at the South, we have ever imagined that, whether in Maine or Texas, we were, *de jure*, in "mine own nation." We have not imagined, heretofore, that the holding such views was "politics." Among our first notice that it is so considered by anybody was the seeing "loyalty" ridiculed by a Southern bishop, in the columns of a Southern paper, as politico-ecclesiasticism. Our present purpose, however, is to call attention to the fact that ultra-Calhounism, *denationalization*, is the politics of this Review, ably, bitterly, and persistently maintained, "*under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*;" that all the authorities of that Church—bishops, conferences, and editors—press them upon that Church, and, as far as in them lies, shut their Church up tight to ultra-Calhounism; so that, in all probability, its rank and file are thereby compacted solidly into a partisan political society. Knowing with what fixed habit the Southern people, trained under the baton of the slave-holding oligarchy, follow their leaders, we see no reason

to doubt that that Church is a compact instrument in the hands of its politico-eclesiastical oligarchy, ready for a secessional political leadership to become a military leadership so soon as any hope of success shall dawn. We have watched with painful interest the growth of things into this shape. The arrangement was completed when, Dr. Bledsoe (who was Secretary of War under Jefferson Davis) having been installed head-editor in the Church, full berth was given to his political indoctrinations in the head-periodical of the Church. From that moment the ultra-Calhounite political flag floated at their mast-head, and Southron Methodism became a political Church.

Meanwhile attention is skillfully diverted from these movements by raising a continual cry of "politics" against our own non-sectional Church. The innocents among their people are made to believe, for instance, that Bishop Simpson holds the politics of our seventy-four conferences between his thumb and finger. The letter-writers who fabricate these thriftless statements are not for one moment to be suspected of the idiocy of believing their own mendacities. No one can live long here at the North without knowing that individualism, independence of leaderships, under free access to all sorts of information, is our predominant characteristic. A bishop in our nation-wide Church, while justly empowered in his legitimate sphere, is not the wide lord-paramount that a bishop in the sectional Methodism is. One of our bishops may, indeed, be personally influential with two or more successive Presidents; but that gives him not the slightest control over the political opinions of our ministry or people. Bishop Simpson exercises just as little influence on our politics as our Democratic friend, Dr. Carlton. While we have flaunted no garish professions of non-politicalism, have made up no sanctimonious non-political faces, have spontaneously uttered our moral convictions without particularly caring whether they wound into political complications or not, we are wholly ungoverned by any political partisanship. A party gains or loses with us just so far as it presents more or less of holy moral principle in its doctrines and practices. To the *principles*, whether there be party or not, we owe all our allegiance; to party, as such, none. We have no political organ for our Church. There are more unequivocal, non-moral, partisan politics in one number of this

Southern Review than in the entire body of our own periodical literature since the war. So far as we know, politics form no regular or usual part of our discussions in conferences, bishops' cabinets, churches, sermons, preachers' meetings, or periodicals. There are no political mutual understandings. Political opinions are not taken into account in our ecclesiastical elections. Every man believes and says just what he pleases. It is true that at the present time, from great controlling and moral reasons, the great body of moral and educated native American Protestants in the North have spontaneously come to very near a political unanimity. You may generally assume that a man who is no rum-seller, no haunter of lager or whisky saloons, no anti-Sabbatist, no Romanist, no professional politician, but a moral, conscientious native American, belongs to the same party as comprises the large majority of our Methodists. But that any ecclesiastical efforts are exerted in order to control political opinions, (apart from purely and *bona fide* ethical questions,) is a falsehood which nothing but a determinate purpose of falsehood has created in the mind of the Southern Church. That system of political dictation exists in the Southern Church *only*, with the bishops at its head, and this Southern Review for its instrument. And we say, with all sincerity and solemnity, it is a fact fraught with danger for their future. The principles of denationalization inculcated upon that Church by their highest Churchly authority, interspersed amid doctrines of religion, and gradually blended with the most sacred feelings in the hearts of their people, are sowing wind to reap whirlwind. We beseech these politico-ecclesiastical leaders to pause and entertain the question, whether the most disastrous results may not follow their thus keeping constantly present to the thoughts of their people the ideas of disunion, disintegration, and hatred to other sections of our country—fringing their clouds with the fiery linings of a possible war in the future. The danger is not to us, but to themselves. Never were the principles of nationalism more firmly fixed than now. The nationalistic sections of our country are broadening and strengthening, and reducing the old "South" to an insignificant corner. For these unhappy men, then, to sow their little section with secessionism, is to plan for a future rebellion; and they may well query whether, after

such a second movement, Thaddeus Stevens would not dictate the terms of reconstruction from his grave.

How far our representations are accurate let the following extracts, which are but average specimens of the political drift of the *Southern Review*, show:

THEORY OF SECESSION.—“The doctrine of Secession is this: If States are united by a compact, and if, as in the case of the Constitution of the United States, the compact assigns no term or period for its continuance, then it binds them only during their good-will and pleasure. Then may any State, with or *without cause*, secede therefrom without a breach or violation of the constitutional compact. . . . *No cause whatever is necessary to justify, as to the Constitution, the exercise of the right of Secession. Such is the fullness and the freedom and the glory of the right of Secession, properly understood.*”—*Southern Review*, July, 1872, page 133.

“(1.) Here, then, was the *first* great principle which divided the two antagonistic parties in the United States—the *sovereignty of the States*. (2.) The second was a legitimate corollary from this first principle. ‘If the States are sovereign parties to the Constitution, they must have a right to judge of it. The Constitution is their compact. A compact must have parties to it, and these parties must have the right to judge of its enforcement, and (if the other parties are faithless to its obligations) to withdraw from it. All this is swept away if the States are *not* sovereign, and the Government of the United States, not being their agent, and not responsible to them, may do as it pleases without any check from their authority.’—October, 1871, page 785.

MR. LINCOLN A PERJURER AND TRAITOR.—“Mr. Lincoln exercised this power, knowing it to be unconstitutional—utterly so. Every one of the half dozen proclamations which he issued, inaugurating the war, was clearly an unconstitutional proceeding. That he was prompted to issue them, as Mr. Stephens informs us, and as every one knows was the case, by mischievous counselors, does not justify the Executive in violating his oath to protect, maintain, and defend the Constitution. He called out troops, placed the Southern States under blockade, and commenced the war without a tittle of right or authority

to do so; and, after having directly violated the Constitution by these several acts of usurpation, asked Congress, on its assembling, to indorse his measures as constitutional. That body very properly refused to do so. How could it make acts constitutional which, both in letter and spirit, were contrary to the Constitution? The thing was equally absurd and impossible. Mr. Douglas, in the extra session of the Senate that met before both Houses convened, having heard it intimated that Mr. Lincoln intended to resort to war measures against the South by blockading its ports, declared, in his place, that the proceeding, if attempted, would be as unconstitutional as it was preposterous and suicidal—that the President could not, without usurpation, exercise any such power. Notwithstanding this announcement coming from a distinguished member of the Senate, and, *ex officio*, a constitutional adviser of the President, the latter did issue one proclamation after another blockading the ports of the Southern States, thus virtually declaring war against them and against their sovereignty, which act, when consummated, became an act of treason against the States, of which the offensive character was not diminished, but increased, by the pretense that he acted in his capacity of Executive of the Federal Union.”—October, 1872, pp. 440, 441.

“CUT-THROATS, TYRANTS, AND USURPERS.”—“Had the Southern States declared war against the federal body? No! They had only seceded from it, which, as distinct sovereignties, they had a perfect right to do, when they found themselves aggrieved by its action. As Mr. Lincoln could not call this proceeding treason, and hang the States that resorted to it as their remedy against an infringement of their constitutional rights, he called it an ‘insurrection,’—‘a formidable insurrection in certain States of the Union, which had arrayed itself in armed hostility to the Government of the United States, constitutionally administered.’ Was this true? No! The statement was utterly false in every particular. There was no insurrection at the time ‘in certain States of the Union’—none whatever. If the people had arms in their hands, (and they generally carried them in those days of peril,) it was not to assail a Government constitutionally administered, but to maintain their rights and liberties against the insidious or overt acts of cut-throats, tyrants, and usurpers.”—October, 1872, page 441.

A FUTURE WAR.—“Secession, it is true, is not the issue of the day, *but it may become some day the issue of a down-trodden, insulted people*, not crippled by war, who have the ability to maintain their position. It is not the remedy for the political grievances of the Southern States only, but the remedy of all the States of the Union for the moral corruption pervading the entire body politic, arising from the falsehood, treachery, perjury, and recklessness of utterly unprincipled rulers. These are pestilent mischiefs, which sometimes undermine, and ultimately effect the ruin of, the best organized Governments, and reflect dishonor on the very name of liberty. The States should never abandon as worthless the remedy for them which they have in their own hands.”—October, 1872, page 463.

“It is the abuse of delegated, or the assumption of undelegated, power by faithless, incompetent, unprincipled men, intrusted with the administration of affairs, which has now brought the Federal Union to the very brink of ruin; and it is only, Mr. Stephens thinks, by thrusting these officials from the high places which they have long occupied and dishonored, that we can hope for any real restoration of the Union to its original integrity, and be *assured of its continuance for any great length of time to come*.”—October, 1872, page 473.

HOPES BEFORE THE LAST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.—“A favorable opportunity, it is believed, approaches for effecting this highly desirable result. If the people, throughout all the States, at the presidential election now near at hand, rising in their strength, shall lay their hands on those great political offenders who have violated their oaths and grossly abused the trusts committed to them, and, hurling them from their places without any particular ceremony, shall elect in their stead real statesmen, who will honestly and faithfully discharge their whole duty to the country and the Constitution, the latter may still be maintained in its original purity, and the Union be preserved. But if they fail to do this, and the same misgovernment, usurpation, inhumanity, tyranny, and injustice continue to mark the administration of Federal affairs which have disfigured it during the last decade, in such case *nothing, we apprehend, can prevent the*

dismemberment and overthrow, at no distant date, of the American Union of States, and, along with it, the downfall of the first great experiment of political self-government in the New World."—October, 1872, page 474.

DOGGEREL ON PRESIDENT GRANT.

"Where shone a Washington,
 Begrimed with smoke, sits Jesse's puffing son,
 The cloud-compelling deity, who rules
 His piebald worshipers of knaves and fools;
 A thing of accident, a bladder blown
 By favoring fortune, and her special own;
 Boorish in manners, poor in thought and speech,
 His pen and tongue below the critic's reach;
 Stupid and stubborn, scorning all advice,
 And selling office for the highest price;
 Saving provision for his last of kin,
 Who, out of place and pocket, must go in;
 Gambler in gold and stocks by go-betweens;
 A pleasure-seeker upon others' means:
 A brazen beggar, with an outstretched hand,
 Ready for houses, horses, dogs, and land;
 Nothing amiss to his unquenched desires,
 Little or big alike his greed inspires:
 A cottage here, a broad plantation there,
 Down to a tavern bill or railroad fare.
 Dull to his country's honor or her shame,
 Indifferent to her interests or her fame,
 So he can drive and drink and smoke the same!
 No loafer need despair, nor satire want
 A fitting subject, while there lives a Grant."

—October, 1871, page 949.

Thus far our extracts have traced the real politico-ecclesiastical portraiture which the Church South has given of herself in her Quarterly. We will now give her fancy picture of herself in her non-political attire, with its twin caricature of the "Church North" as a political Church. Not having the Quarterly containing these passages, we extract them from the republication in book form for popular circulation, as noticed at page 347.

NON-POLITICAL CHASTITY OF THE CHURCH SOUTH.—"It is a matter of devout gratitude to the Head of the Church that he has preserved one large body of the Methodist people of this country from political contamination. Even in the utmost stress of temptation during the war she kept herself, as a Church, unspotted from the world. Individual instances, no doubt, there were, but they were few, of the Southern preach-

ers becoming unduly active in public affairs in connection with the events which immediately preceded the war. But the history of her conference sessions is without a spot, and her pulpit, considering the nature and fury of the uproar in the midst of which it stood, preserved its poise in the most remarkable manner."—*M. E. Churches, North and South*, page 42.

POLITICAL "DEBAUCHERY" OF THE "CHURCH NORTH."—"Apologists plead, This Church surely is not wholly or very deeply debauched. . . . The conscience of the Northern people was sensitive on the subject of slavery, and now that it is out of the way it is not likely that any thing else will arise to complicate the Christian conscience with politics. This is very amiable and easy-going talk, but it proceeds upon a most superficial view of the facts. This Church has acquired a *political habit*, which is the growth of more than a quarter of a century. . . . The negro-equality question, the labor question, the Mormon question, the liquor-law question, and many others, on grounds true or fallacious, will appeal to the Christian conscience at the polls."—Pp. 51, 52.

"No fact of American history is more patent than that it is the habit of the Methodist Episcopal Church to invade the domain of the State—to run into politics. It feels itself charged with the management of State affairs in important cases.

"To make the matter worse, she has a political history that she is proud of. The people, and especially the preachers of this Church, feel that, as a Church, they have done more to bring about the present condition of things in the country than any other class of people. They review their career as political agitators with the utmost complacency. It has been successful. It has been brilliant. Not only in politics, but in war, they have run a triumphant course. It is a heroic history. They look upon themselves as having "saved the country." They carry with them the consciousness of the conqueror and the benefactor—all the result of the part they took in the politics of the country.

"So far as the past and the present can possibly give assurance of the future, it is certain that on all occasions that offer an issue, in which the Methodist conscience may deem itself concerned, the ecclesiastics of the Northern Church will be ready to go headlong into the canvass. She will be ever and

anon upon the hustings. Her pulpit will again resound with the declamation of the demagogue, and her pews will send back the loud huzza. . . .

"The Romish Church has always been unscrupulous in its methods. It will advance itself by political or any other means available. It is by no means impossible that, in coming political complications, there may be a time when Romanism will hold the balance of power. The example of ecclesiastical interference in the affairs of government has already been set. The public mind has been familiarized with it. *The Methodist Church North has pioneered the way for the Romanist, and when his opportunity arrives he will not be slow to follow.* . . .

"The country will need the Southern Church, then—a Church whose history is a history of devotion to Christ, and whose habit is that of undivided consecration to the work of God. God's battles are to be fought with the sword of the Spirit, by witnessing for him in prayer, and faith, and suffering. He has reserved to himself a Methodist Church in this country against the time of trial. When Apocalyptic portents shall shadow and darken the land, let us pray that he may have one Church, at least—and let us trust that he may have more than one—that shall have kept unspotted garments, and have no part nor lot with Babylon.

"This non-political character of the Church South, as distinguished from the Church North, is, as we conceive, *the most vital point of difference between the two bodies.*"—Pp. 58-63.

In these extracts we have given the contrasted self-drawn pictures of the Southern Church as she is, and the Southern Church as she pretends to be. She is judged from her own mouth.

A few words will trace the consistency of the entire course of our Quarterly in regard to the Church South, even in our changes. Immediately after the war and the re-establishment of the weeklies of the Church South, we discovered in their columns a spirit of repentance, of conciliation and reunion, that inspired a just hope that, immediately appreciated and accepted, it might lead to early unification in Church as well as in State. As none of our then officials seemed to notice these noble expressions of the right feeling, or to know of their existence, we made extensive extracts from the Southern papers

and spread them upon the pages of our Quarterly; adding and maintaining, with what powers we possessed, the inference that, such being their feeling, the fraternal right hand should, with full purpose of heart, be proffered them. We never offered to sacrifice a single principle. Our proposal was that *North and South should shake hands over the grave of buried slavery; that both sides should heartily co-operate in educating the colored race, and bring it to a capacity for properly exercising the duties of freemen; that such unification of the Churches, on a basis of perfect equality, should take place as would leave the present Church South Conferences entirely uninvaded.* Our express preference was that colored Methodism should have its own General Conference, in such fraternal relations with ours that aid could properly by us be furnished to it. Under such arrangements we held that there would be no need of organizing new conferences in the South, our only business there being provisional, in aiding and educating the freedmen whom a Northern fiat had emancipated and made us responsible for their well-being.

The Southern papers unanimously applauded our publication, and accepted for the time our terms. But in our own Church a most irrational opposition arose. We were assailed as having abandoned our principles, not only by some old antislavery friends, but by many who sought credit for a high antislaveryism which they had never displayed when antislaveryism cost any thing. Meanwhile, by the delay of this opposition, and the long friction of the debate, the temper of the South began to turn, and the golden hour was lost. The Southern rebel politicians, relieved by Government clemency from their first just fear, grew forthwith live and insolent, and breathed their Copperhead inspiration into a Church that was always proud to be a political appanage. Forthwith the Southern Methodist weeklies informed us that *their opinions in regard to slavery were unchanged.* Our offers of reunion were flouted. The teachers and missionaries going to the South were denounced. We were told that, as to our moneyed donations, the old slave-masters would be glad to take them, but they would thank the donors to keep at a distance. Meanwhile they have never established a colored school, or expressed a wish that one should be established. Their fixed purpose has been, as we

have repeatedly charged, that since individual slavery has been destroyed, collective *serfdom* shall take its place. Such is the inhumane, the unchristian, position of the Church South at this hour. Hence it hates all the proffers of conciliation or intercourse by our Church. It hates with a perfect hatred our presence on Southern soil. The Northern editor who most concurs in non-intercourse and widest separation is most heartily indorsed. With his editorials they shake hands, but they want to shake no hands with him. At every advance that has thus far been made they have responded with rejection on technical grounds, and usually with a paroxysm of insult and opprobrium, conceitedly exhibited through all their presses. So unanimous was this outburst of rage during and after the fraternal propositions of our Bishops at St. Louis that we made the following announcement in our Quarterly :

Until a change for the better takes place, self-respect forbids our uttering a syllable further of either *reunion* or *fraternization*. Until that change, we dismiss both words from our vocabulary. For this permanence of the bitter and divisive spirit they, not we, are responsible, and boldly and intentionally responsible. If feud be ceaseless, and war return with returning Southern strength, the leaders of the Church South will bear a prime responsibility. Nor is there a doubt that the true sub-soil to all their hate is political. The Church South is being based on the old rebel stratum, is becoming entrenched in the old sectional prejudice that bred the war.—April, 1870.

All this is confirmed by the later developments. The bold proclamations by the Church South through its Quarterly of secessionism, this accusatory work of its bishops energetically scattered among its people, its persistent determination in favor of negro ignorance and *serfdom*, its angry sectionalism, all indicate that it has scarce abandoned the dream of future secession, and the restoration of slavery. Meanwhile, in the hot pursuit of sectionalism, Southern improvement is prevented. This Southern Quarterly never has an article on the development of Southern industrial resources. Northern capital is repelled and driven out. Immigration from any part of the world is virtually excluded, and vast areas of Southern land, among the most inviting of the earth, are nearly as closed to improvement as the wild hunting grounds of the western red men.*

* The following two items of a statistical summary of emigration for the past year we take from the "New York Times" :

"Fourth—That by far the largest settlement of European immigrants outside the Metropolitan District of New York has taken place in the Middle, Western,

To us as a Church fraternization with the Church South is no advantage. The only inducements thereto are her good, the peace of the country, and the diminution of the scandal of a divided Methodism. Our first and most important business is to fill the South with our own true Methodism. That we must do, avoiding all injury to others, yet making no submissions. We have as much right on Southern soil as the Southerner himself. We utterly disapprove of any sacrifices of self-respect, and we should be chary of offering courtesies that would be repaid with insult. We would rather fling fraternization with the Church South to the winds forever than put the slightest slight on the humblest denomination of negro Methodism. The future peace of our country demands that we slack not our hands. We may have a long labor, demanding expenditures, perseverance, and sacrifice, but *there is a future*. We are laying foundations for centuries. The old proslavery element, if it continue its lazy, exclusive course of suicidal impolicy, will become effete, will be overslaughed by an incoming tide of live population, and must yield to the great law of the "survival of the fittest." The swell of the great middle current of population will in due time surge South, and we must be there to receive and embody it. We here record the prediction that our own true Methodism will, within a century, be chief occupant of the ground.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1873. (London.)—1. The Dogma of the Triduum; or, Christ's Three Days' Presence among the Departed. 2. On the Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistles. 3. On the Proper Limits of Creeds. 4. The Materialistic Philosophy. 5. Thomas Erskine of Linlathen. 6. Dr. John Duncan of Edinburgh. 7. The Deluge and Archaeology.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1873. (London.)—1. Organization and Life. 2. Government Telegraphs. 3. Lord Elgin and Sir Henry Lawrence. 4. The Writings of Berthold Auerbach. 5. Strauss' Confession of Faith. 6. Gareth and Lynette. 7. Steward on the Epistle to the Hebrews. 8. The Elementary Education Act.

and North-western States; that but a very small proportion settle in New England, comparatively few in the border States of Maryland and Kentucky, a somewhat larger number in Virginia, but next to none in any of the Southern States except Texas.

"Fifth—That, as a consequence of this, the center of population in the United States is steadily moving westward in the belt of country between parallels 40° and 44°, and near the line of the Ohio River."

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) Second Number. 1873.—*Essays*: 1. LEIMBACH, The Christian Poet Arator. 2. VOGT, On Heavenly Corporeity, ("Himmliche Leiblichkeit.") *Thoughts and Remarks*: 1. MICHELSEN, On Several Parallel Sentences of the New Testament. *Reviews*: 1. KRAUSS, For and Against Keim. 2. ROSCH, Review of Keim's History of Jesus of Nazareth. *Miscellaneous*: 1. Programme of the Haag Society for the Defense of the Christian Religion, for the Year 1872. 2. Programme of the Teyler Theological Society at Haarlem, for the Year 1873.

The Christian poet Arator, who lived in the first half of the sixth century, is but little known. The last edition of his works was published in 1769, (*Arntzen, Aratoris subdiaconi de actibus apostolorum libri duo et epistolæ tres ad Florianum, Vigilium, and Parthenium.*) In the nineteenth century, when theologians and philologists, philosophers and historians, vie in the study of the ancient Church writers, and when so many relics of the ancient Church literature have been discovered, no one has devoted his special attention to Arator. The great German Theological Cyclopedia of Herzog and the Cyclopedia of M'Clintock and Strong do not even mention his name. This fate of oblivion is regarded by Mr. Leimbach as undeserved, and he has therefore made the forgotten poet the subject of special studies, the fruit of which is the above-mentioned article. Mr. Leimbach's previous essay on the poet Commodianus has met with the unanimous praise of the German theologians, and this treatise on Arator cannot but increase his reputation as a writer on the literature of the ancient Christian Church. As the information contained in this essay is not easily accessible in other books, we glean from it a few interesting points: Arator was a native of Liguria, born about 490. He was, after the early death of his father, brought up by Archbishop Laurentius, of Milan. He was, in 526, at the head of an embassy to the East Gothic king Theodoric, after which he appears to have held a position at the court, and finally to have attained the highest position next to the king—that of major-domus. Toward the close of his life he became tired of court-life, and about 541 he was ordained sub-deacon at Rome. The only work of Arator which is extant, and probably the only one which he composed, is a poetical commentary to the Acts of the Apostles, in two books, (*De Actibus Apostolorum, libri ii.*) Besides this work we have from him only three epis-

tles, to the Abbot Florianus, to Pope Vigilius, and to his teacher, Parthenius. The former, it seems, was to examine the book; to the Pope it appears to have been dedicated, and Parthenius was to recommend it in the circles of his friends. The Pope received it very favorably, placed it in the papal library, and ordered it to be publicly read in the Church of St. Peter *ad Vincula*. The letters are composed in distichs, but the work on the Acts in hexameter, of which the first book contains one thousand and seventy-six, and the second twelve hundred and fifty. The theological value of the writings of Arator is very small; his typical explanation of the passages of the Old Testament is often puerile. He is enthusiastically devoted to the interests of the Church of Rome, but seems to have had some semi-Pelagian views. Of considerable interest is the fact that according to Arator the Apostle Paul suffered martyrdom in Rome on the same day, but not in the same year, as the Apostle Peter. As the work was publicly read in one of the Churches of Rome by order of Pope Vigilius, it seems that the opinion that the Apostles Peter and Paul did not suffer martyrdom on the same day of the same year must at the time of Arator have been held in Rome itself. At all events it was regarded as perfectly orthodox. But not much later Pope Gelasius called the opinion that Paul died in another year than Peter a heretical twaddle. This is another illustration of papal infallibility.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal of Historical Theology.) 1873. Second Number.—1. WALTE, Contributions to a Church History of Bremen. 2. BONWETSCH, Substance, Origin, and Progress of the *Disciplina Arcani*.

The author of the second article, a Protestant pastor at Norka, in the Government of Saratov, Russia, states, in the preface to his very comprehensive essay, that it develops the views of his teacher, the well-known Lutheran Professor Harnack. The first part of the article consists of a valuable "literary review," giving the main points of all the books and essays of importance which have been written on the subject. It has thus far been generally assumed that the term *arcani disciplina* (discipline of the mysteries or system of secret instruction) was first introduced by Meyer in his work *De Recondita vet. Ecclesie Theologia*, (1670,) to denote the practice of the early Church of concealing from unbelievers, and even from catechumens,

certain parts of divine worship, especially of the sacraments. But Bonwetsch quotes a passage from a work published by the celebrated theologian Dallaeus, (Daille,) of the Reformed Church of France, in 1666, which proves that he used the term before Meyer. Soon after the introduction of the term the subject gave rise to a very animated controversy. The Jesuit Schelstrate, in his *Antiquitas illustrata*, (Antwerp, 1678,) attempted to press the *disciplina arcani* into the service of his Church to account for the silence of the early Church writers as to penance, image worship, and other practices. He was refuted by W. E. Tentzel in the essay *Dissertatio de Disciplina Arcani*, (1683.) Schelstrate defended himself in 1685 in *De Disciplina Arcani contra Disput. E. Tentzel*, and the latter replied in a very thorough and complete manner in his *Animadversiones*. (The two writings of Tentzel and the last named essay of Schelstrate are contained in *W. E. Tentzelii Exercitationes Selectæ*, Frankfort, 1692.) Since then a large number of theologians have written on this subject. The Catholic writers, among whom are Schollner, (1756,) Döllinger, (1826,) Lienhardt, (1829,) Toklot, (1836,) Lüft, (1844,) Hefele, (1846,) and Mayer, (1868,) have substantially only repeated the arguments of Schelstrate, and added but little that is new. On the Protestant side very able treatises were written on the subject in the seventeenth century by Bingham (in his *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*) and by Mosheim (in his Church History.) Bingham believes that the institution originated at the time of Tertullian, and that it had chiefly the pedagogical object, to prevent the Christian rites from being despised by those who did not yet understand them, and to prepare the catechumens for their better understanding. Mosheim showed more clearly than had been done before him that the *disciplina arcani* must be well distinguished from the system of reserve or concealment of theology, (*scientia arcani*, *μυστηριοσοφία*), which sprang up in Egypt in the second century. He also believed it to have had a pedagogical aim, namely, to lead the catechumens from an understanding of the easier doctrines into the more profound mysteries of Christianity. A number of writers (among them Planck and Creuzer) saw in the *disciplina arcani* nothing but a childish endeavor to have in the Christian Church something similar to the pagan mysteries. This view has now been gen-

erally abandoned. The most important Protestant writers who in the nineteenth century have written on the subject are Richard Rothe, (in Herzog's Cyclopædia,) Zezschwitz, (*Katechetik*, 1863,) Niedner, (*Kirchengeschichte*, 1816,) and Harnack, (*Der christliche Gemeindegottesdienst*, 1854.) The two former find the origin in the catechumenate; the institution is defended as a natural outgrowth of the condition in which the Church found itself at that time. Niedner and Harnack, on the other hand, believe that it originated in a systematic transformation of the divine service into a mysterious form as a deviation from the primitive Christian basis of the Church, and in an undue extension of the hierarchical power. The essay is very instructive, and though it will, of course, not end the controversy, it must be read by all who wish thoroughly to understand the subject.

ART. VIII.—QUARTERLY BOOK TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Revision of the English Version of the New Testament. By J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D., Canon of St. Paul's and Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge; RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin; C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. With an Introduction by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. 12mo., pp. 562. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1873.

In the hands of accomplished scholars and graceful writers like Schaff, Lightfoot, Trench, and Ellicott, biblical criticism becomes elegant literature. It is a curious fact that Germany should present in Dr. Schaff a mediator between England and America in the revision of our English Bible. Dr. Lightfoot is not so well known among us as the others named, but his Commentary on Galatians, published by W. F. Draper, proves him not one whit behind the chiefest.

It was in May, 1870, that the Convocation of Canterbury commenced the movement of revision. They resolved upon inaugurating not a new translation, but such a revision as, retaining all the traits that render our old English Bible venerable to our hearts, should remove those defects that by time or original error have impaired its clearness to the popular mind. A committee was appointed which divided itself into an Old Testament and a New Testament Company, whose first work, respectively, should be the

Pentateuch and the Gospels. To each of these Companies about a score of eminent scholars of various denominations were by invitation added.

In August, 1870, was commenced the work, by English invitation, of organizing two corresponding Companies in America. The whole arrangements have been made upon the assumption that while the Anglican Church was the proper authority to initiate the enterprise, the best Christian scholarship of all sects and denominations should be asked to combine, so that it might be the united work and be accepted as the one vernacular Holy Bible of our "English-speaking Christendom." To the best of our knowledge the movement has thus far been a delightful success. The respective companies of the two nations have commenced their harmonious work. It will be a task of years, perhaps a decade. But, by the blessing of God, it cannot fail, and we entertain the cheerful trust that the text of our English Bible will come forth purified and renewed from the healthful process.

It is easy for the critical scholar to pick out plentiful fly-specks upon every page of our English Bible. Words have become obsolete or changed their meaning; they were badly selected from original caprice, and errors were committed from the imperfect scholarship of the age. Sometimes there appears a mistranslation from doctrinal prepossession. And last of all, it is severed into chapters and verses, not as dexterously dissected by a scalpel, but as sliced and chopped by a butcher's cleaver. Yet in spite of all this its power as BIBLE has shown forth. It has been the unifying platform of English-speaking religions. There is no denying the wonderful fact, that all sections of dissent as they have left the primary bodies have gone off with King James' version under the arm. Scholars have often drawn up a fresh translation. Wesley furnished such a work of the New Testament; but he would have sooner flung it into the fire than allow it to disturb the supremacy of our old English Bible. We believe no attempt of the kind, as an appeal to denominational feeling, has been enabled to supplant our translation in the homes of the people. The revisers, therefore, approach the book with a true conservative feeling. Where palpable defects of text, or inaccuracy or obsolescence of phrase, obscure or pervert the meaning, modifications are to be made.

One rule, however, which they have adopted seems to us to sacrifice universally acknowledged truth to an ultra-conservatism. The rule is that no word should be used in the revision which does

not already stand somewhere in the present version. We cheerfully agree that words already imbedded in our vernacular should be decidedly preferred. All present shock to the ordinary reader or hearer should be sedulously avoided. But *truth* is paramount to all things, and where there is no doubt in any section of scholars what truth is, surely truth should take the place of falsehood. This law of unquestionable truth requires the omission of the celebrated text of the Three Witnesses. It equally requires that *Hades* and *Gehenna* should not be translated by the same words. No scholar of any denomination believes that *Hades* means *hell* in the same sense as *Gehenna*, or in any sense as used in our vernacular. The conservatism that fears to transfer the word *Hades* to the English version is based in a want of due confidence in the good sense of the people. We believe that in a period of fifty coming years there is less danger in setting things right than in covering up wrong.

Dean Trench has made a very tolerable defense of King James' translators against the charge of mistranslating from doctrinal motives. His main ground is that a comparison of texts will show that in the Calvinistic points, for instance, they gave as many translations unduly unfavorable to their views as favorable. His statement we think to be numerically incorrect; yet Arminians have seldom imputed more than an unconscious Calvinistic prepossession to the translators. Of intentional mistranslation they have rarely been accused.

One of the most remarkable pro-Calvinistic uses of words has been perhaps, in some degree, the simple result of time. It is one to which we have seen no reference; and though pervading the whole Bible, is very likely to be overlooked even by Arminian revisers. It is the use of the future *shall* where our modern vernacular requires *will*. At the present day, at least, this has become a very false translation, for our present *shall* has an imperative force, just as it has always possessed in the Decalogue. Should a parent at the present day say to his sons at table, "One of you *shall* betray me," (John xiii, 21), it would be understood as a command. And so Rom. ix, 12, "The elder *shall* serve the younger," makes an imperative of a simple future. It may be indeed said that God's futures are imperatives. Whether that be so or not, we should allow God to use his futures instead of imperatives when he pleases.

Under this class of the false *shall* comes perhaps one of the most curiously mistranslated, interpolated, misquoted, and abused

texts in the Bible, noticed by us in our Quarterly some years ago. It is Psa. cx, 3, "Thy people *shall* be willing in the day of thy power." This is a military Messianic psalm, and the words really mean, Thy people [are] ready in the day of thy military gathering. There is really no verb at all; and the *shall be* of the translators, as well as our [are], is an interpolation. Then the *shall* is made a false imperative. Next follows a laughable mutilation of the text, current among our Calvinistic brethren, not only colloquially and among the people, but even disclosing itself in the deliberate writings of the best scholars. The false *shall be willing* is transmuted into a falser *make willing*. We have, for instance, a venerable volume by old Dr. Spring, of New England, on Free Agency, (which abolishes all Free Agency,) in which this text is quoted as a title-page motto, correctly according to our translation, but in entire perversion of the textual meaning. Next, our readers will find it used by Rev. Mr. Tyler, as it happens, on page 311 of this our present Quarterly, mutilated into "make willing." Next we will find it in Dr. Shedd's History of Doctrines, vol ii, p. 73, thus mutilated: "Makes him willing in the day of God's power." Next we will find it in Hodge on Romans: "God supersedes the necessity of forcing us by *making us willing* in the day of his power." And finally, we grieve to say it, even our friend, Dr. Schaff, has inserted a slight finger in this *Credit Mobilier*, by quoting with approbation this same unfortunate passage of Dr. Hodge's in his Romans, p. 95.* This is somewhat aside from the subject of the new revision of the Bible. It is additionally a suggestion to our Calvinistic friends to revise their proof-texts.

This volume will be a treat to biblical scholars; and especially will its perusal be a pleasant discipline for the student of the New Testament Greek text.

The Apocalypse Translated and Expounded. By JAMES GLASGOW, D.D., Irish General Assembly's Professor of Oriental Languages; Late Professor of the University of Bombay, and late Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay. 8vo., pp. 611. (Imported and on sale by Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong, New York.) Edinburgh: J. & T. Clark. 1872.

The problem of the Apocalypse ever possesses its fascinations for a numerous class of minds. In that problem there is a large amount to start with that is fixed and certain. There is a second large amount so definite that large sections of thinkers will agree, yet so indefinite that different and opposing schools will arise and

* Since writing the above we have found the same mutilation of the text in Dr. Hodge's Theology, vol. i, page 435.

debate their differences. There are, finally, a few passages that seem to crucify the interpreter who attempts to unfold them. Dr. Glasgow belongs to the school of *futurists*, who maintain that a great share of the volume is yet to be fulfilled; and of *post-millennialists*, who hold that the universal spread of the Gospel precedes the second advent. He adopts rigidly the year-day theory; applying it, indeed, where many maintainers of that view withhold it, to the one thousand years of the binding of Satan. This period he holds to have commenced at the first advent, and to extend to the second. It forms a series of ages at least three hundred and sixty thousand years in extent. This obliges him to give us an ingenious dissertation on the increase of the human race during that range of ages. How the earth can sustain so vast a volume of population he attempts, not with full satisfaction to himself, to show.

The arithmetic of the matter is indeed disturbing:

In the *Mechanics' Magazine* I find this calculation: "The population of this country doubles itself in about fifty years. If the population is multiplied by 2 every 50 years, it will be multiplied by 4 every century; by 16 every 2 centuries; by 256 every 4 centuries: by more than 1,000 every 5 centuries: by more than 1,000,000 in 1,000 years' time;" and the writer then draws an appalling picture of the resulting poverty and distress. Now, according to the data, the calculation is true: on the assumption made, the population would, at the end of 1,000 years, be 1,049,376 times as great as at its beginning.

But if the human race had in time past increased at this rate, there would in A. D. 1000 have been 1,049,376 times as many as in A. D. 1, which may be taken at about 100,000,000. There would thus have been in A. D. 1000 as many as 535,000 inhabitants to every square mile on the surface of the terraqueous globe, supposing all habitable land, without any sea. This amounts to an absolute impossibility.

And if we reckon on to A. D. 1850, we should have, for each square mile, the last number multiplied by 131,072; a number for the bodies of whom there would not be standing-room—nearly three for each square foot.

Or, even if we assume a more moderate rate of increase—the doubling of the population in 100 years—this, at the end of 1,000 years, would present a sum of 1,024 times as many as at present—1,000,000,000 multiplied by 1,024. Dividing the product by 65,000,000, the number of square miles of land, we should have 15,754 inhabitants to every square mile. This would cover the whole dry land of the earth with densely crowded streets and lanes, a condition to which it is manifestly impossible the world can be brought.

It is a fact in which the Chiliast triumphs that even a thousand years of peace and morality would completely overstock the earth. On the other hand, Dr. Glasgow retorts, that to deny such a protraction of Gospel triumph is to assign Satan a complete victory in the entire of the world's history. Nor can he believe that Providence has made such a mistake in proportioning the laws of population to the size of the earth as that wars, pestilences, massacres, infanticides, celibacies, and sexual preventions, are a blessing to mankind. There are many

hints in the Bible that the fertility of the earth will be increased and extended over new areas. New laws of physiology may develop themselves in the population of a purer age, by which the ratio of population may decrease. Nay, the very earth may, by divine power, working indeed through laws provided, yet by us not fully understood, be enlarged to ampler dimensions. So thinks Dr. Glasgow.

Apocalyptists will find Dr. Glasgow a learned and suggestive writer, even where they dissent from his opinions.

The New Life Dawning, and other Discourses of Bernard H. Nadal, D.D., late Professor of Historical Theology in the Drew Theological Seminary. Edited, with a Memoir, by Rev. HENRY A. BUTTZ, M.A. And an Introduction by Bishop R. S. FOSTER, D.D., LL.D. 12mo., pp. 421. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1873.

The pure life, amiable nature, and clear intellect of Dr. Nadal endeared him to a large circle of friends, and required this fitting memorial. The biography, well written by Professor Buttz, is well worthy the study of our young men. The sermons display a style of transparent clearness, and while within the limits of true evangelic thought, there is a newness in their presentation, a fresh phase and a coloring, that will detain the most practical thinker in the same region. The sermon of the Evidential Force of Miracles is worthy, after all that has been said on that permanent topic, of perusal. The volume is well entitled to pass beyond the circle of both the author's acquaintances and the Church adorned by his ministry. The volume is well gotten up by the publishers, with an engraving that freshly calls the features of the original to the memory.

Lectures by the late John M'Clintock, D.D., LL.D., on Theological Encyclopedia and Methodology. (Delivered at Drew Seminary.) Edited by JOHN T. SHORT, B.D. With an Introduction by JAMES STRONG, S.T.D. 12mo., pp. 202. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1873.

This volume is simply a summary of notes of Dr. M'Clintock's extemporaneous lectures by one of his students. As indorsed by Dr. Strong, it possesses a due degree of authenticity. It does not give the *matter* of theology, but furnishes a comprehensive survey of the whole field, and furnishes a directory to the student to the proper authors to be consulted. For such purposes it may be heartily recommended.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Oriental Linguistic Studies. The Veda; The Avesta; The Science of Language. By WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY, Professor of Sanscrit and Comparative Philology in Yale College. 12mo., pp. 416. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873.

The present volume embraces two chapters on the Vedas and Vedic religion in sixty-four pages; criticisms on Max Müller embracing sixty-nine pages; an account of the Avesta in about fifty pages. Our learned and luxuriant friend Max is abundantly criticised; some of his brilliant theories are unceremoniously demolished, and a reduction is made to more exact though bleaker fact. Then comes a brief dissertation on the origin of Language, and the book finishes with three full chapters of trenchant criticism on Bleek, Schleicher, and Steinthal, German authors who have ventured to project theories on the origin of language to be very exhaustively demolished by the merciless logic and sarcasm of the Yalensian iconoclast. It is dangerous for fanciful linguistic schemers and dreamers to venture out so long as Professor Whitney is in circulation. We need not say that in the entire department of Sanscrit literature the author ranks as a master both in Europe and America.

The old Aryan Bible, the Veda, is all psalms. It seldom rose, however, to a pure devotion. It does not, like the Bible of Shem, go back to the origin of things, and trace a clear historic line clear through the primitive ages. It fails to maintain the purity of ancient theism. It does, however, breathe a hope of immortality and presents a simple worship. The rise of Brahmanism over this pure primitive system is curious, both in its parallelisms and its differences with Romanism. A priestly caste gradually develops itself over the primitive, pure worship, and becomes exclusively the keepers of the sacred canon. It becomes rigorous, despotic, and sanctimonious. It keeps the canon so closely as to forget its contents, and even how to read them. Traditions grow up in utter, but unknown, contradiction to the sacred text, by which the priesthood become omnipotent. Nor is it until their brother Aryan comes from Europe and decyphers the sacred text that the Brahman discovers, to his dismay, that his traditions are at absolute war with his Bible.

Professor Whitney hints the belief natural to an enthusiastic specialist, that the Vedic is the earliest literature extant. What, however, is the era of a collection of hymns must be a pure matter of conjecture, drawn almost exclusively from indirect internal evidences. That the Vedic literature was growing into existence

about the time of the Exodus may be easily conceded. That the Exodus was closely and authentically connected with Egypt and the Sinaitic desert seems incomparably clearer than that the Vedas belonged to the Bactrian table-land. The historic nature of the Pentateuch, its interweaving with contemporaneous facts, give its authenticity and date an immense superiority of certainty over the Vedas. The document hypothesis of the Pentateuch opens before us a probability, also, that we have in Genesis a series of histories written by far earlier than Mosaic hands, bearing clear traits of being contemporaneous with the facts narrated. We think that any unbiased scholar would admit that Professor Tayler Lewis, in his *Divine and Human in Scripture*, has made it quite as certain that the narrative of the deluge was furnished by an eye-witness, as any archaeologist has made it clear that the Vedas was written before the time of Solomon. What, in Vedic literature, bears on its face more truth-likeness than the history of Abraham and his patriarchal family? As a matter of mere secular criticism we venture to suspect that few scholars, capable of taking an impartial survey of the fields, would hesitate to decide that the Pentateuch is written in a true historic spirit, and that its claims to a far higher antiquity are sustained on far higher grounds than can be assumed for the Vedas even for the era usually assigned them. Thanks are abundantly due to Professor Whitney for his great labors in furnishing materials for judgment, but no thanks for any one-sided attempt, made with his biases, to forestall that judgment.

Mr. Whitney seems anxious, more than once, to assure us that while he denies any definite traces of Darwinism in existing languages, he heartily accepts, without repugnance, the probability of a bestial pedigree. He declares that he rather prefers a descent from a Darwinian ape than from the Pentateuchal Adam, on the ground that it is *what* we are, rather than *whence* we are, that constitutes our true value. But is it not our *whence* that constitutes our *what*? Is not our real nature decided by our origin? The entire nature of the ape-born man is *animal*, and its highest development claims only to be a perfected but perishable animalism; while to the divinely created man belongs, above the animal, a being of essentially a higher, an immortal sphere. The *truth* of the comparative origins is not here the question; for what Professor Whitney avers is that take the two *as they present themselves*, he rather prefers an apish to an Adamic origin. These are degrading utterances to come from a cultivated American scholar to whom we would desire to offer nothing but honor.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Santo Domingo, Past and Present, with a Glance at Hayti. By SAMUEL HAZARD, Author of "Cuba with Pen and Pencil." With Maps and numerous illustrations. 12mo., pp. 511. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1873.

Since the first day that Columbus found his first "land, ho!" upon this beautiful island it has been a scene of successive revolutions. Its first mild and gentle Indian inhabitants were completely extirpated by Spanish cruelty. Under their negro successors the island was the battle-ground of Spanish, French, English, and independent jurisdictions. Its present population, though free from foreign domination, badly educated in such a history, have not the steadiness of character to maintain a stable government. Life and property being absolutely insecure, industry has no existence, and nude poverty is the result. Baez, their present chieftain, is held by Mr. Hazard to be a true friend of his country. He has been repeatedly banished and alternately exalted to the Presidency. He is apparently a pure Spaniard but for a slight crinkle of the hair. He has slowly come to the conclusion that the taking a place as one of our States is the sole hope for his country.

We have no positive opinion to express as to the desirableness of such a result for us, but we are amazed that Senator Sumner, who exerted a main agency in the purchase of the rocks and icebergs of Alaska, should have so passionately opposed the acceptance of this rich and fertile island. It seems true, at first flush, that after enfranchising millions of ignorant negroes on our mainland, we can hardly afford to add to the list of uneducated voters. But it is to be specially noted that, as President Grant affirms, there are but one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants on the island, while its area is capable of maintaining a population of ten millions. Saving the rights, then, of this one hundred and twenty thousand—enough for one respectable city—the island is a vacant territory. Nor could the small number of voters implied in such a population stand in any danger of swamping our Republic. So far as we can judge, General Grant's proposals to Congress have simply met with a whirlwind of excited side issues. We are waiting for the advent of "the sober second thought." What the decision of that will be we do not conjecture.

With its pictorials and maps Mr. Hazard's book is readable and instructive. As a literary work it possesses but slender merit. It abounds in low humor, streaked now and then with a very superfluous profanity. Its dedication page, exhibiting an

engraving, hardly decent, of Andrew C. White, daguerreotyped *à posteriore* on horseback, seems to suggest that neither of the congenial pair possesses a very high self-respect.

Journalism in the United States from 1690 to 1872. By FREDERIC HUDSON. Large 12mo., pp. 789. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1873.

The daily journal is one of the striking phenomena of human history. Its existence is one of the most prominent differences between ancient civilization and modern. It possesses in itself an expansive power which seems likely, if no mundane physical revolution prevent, to render it universal. Its history is, therefore, a topic well worthy of study. It is here traced with considerable research and ability, and the present volume is perhaps the best standard reference on the subject.

It must be confessed that the daily press of our period, while favorable to the detection of offenses against the public good, and so far the supporter of public safety, is hardly the friend of a higher morality. Its tone is irreligious and destructive to the purer moral sentiments. A daily paper not sectarian, nor strictly and technically "religious," but taking Christian views of secular things, is the want of "the family" of our day.

Politics, Law, and General Morals.

The M. E. Churches, North and South. 24mo., pp. 90. St. Louis: South-western Book and Publishing Company. 1872.

Ill-omened is the book whose very title is a falsehood. Its author, a Southern bishop, ought to know that though there is a "Methodist Episcopal Church, South," there is no "Methodist Episcopal Church, North." The issue he here discusses is not between two sectional Churches, but between a sectional and a nation-wide Church. Our conferences spread from the Lakes to the Gulf. And when, in 1844, our General Conference set its house in order for a threatened Southern secession, it was with inflexible purpose that she retained her true, undivided, national title, THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH. Quite as deliberate and persistent has been the retention by the "Church South" of her sectional title. When the Southern Rebellion closed, and its General Conference reorganized, the question of assuming a national name—The Episcopal Methodist Church—was submitted to a popular vote. Earnestly did we hope and plead that it might be accepted. We desired that both Churches should be unsectional, cheerfully con-

ceding them the right of covering the entire North if able, and willing over every sinner they converted or church they built to pray for them a God-speed and God's blessing. Deliberately they preferred the sectional name, the unevangelical symbol of a sectional spirit. We concede their right (though not the evangelic rightness) to sectionalize themselves, but we deny their right to sectionalize us. To us our beloved country is—not a mere aggregate of States, drifted like flood-wood together, but—a NATION! And as Methodists and as citizens we claim that in every section, State, and town we are—not foreigners or “carpet-baggers,” but—Americans *at home*. During the regimen of the despotic slave-power we were, indeed, exiled from the South. That infamous oligarchy, sustained by Southern Methodism, had but to point at one of us and say “an Abolitionist,” and the summary sentence of Judge Lynch was ready. Thanks to the arbitrament of war, that day is past, that power is dethroned, and our whole country is measurably restored to us. And though our Southern friends may persist in sectionalizing themselves, never, never again shall they sectionalize us. Whatever the war has not settled, that it has settled.

This book is written in an accusatory spirit, and is to be considered as a public indictment by the Church South against our Methodist Episcopal Church *as being a Political Church!* It was written by one of her bishops; sanctioned by other bishops; published in her highest periodical, “under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South;” is indorsed to her people by resolutions of annual conferences, and is apparently sown broadcast by clerical hands on the popular mind of their Church. It is, therefore, a part of a permanent systematic effort on the part of the leaders of that Church to close the minds of their people against all conciliation, and to secure the permanent existence of sectional issue, regardless of its tendency to future disunion. Of course their success will be complete, as they alone possess the ear of their Church. They are, therefore, sowing their soil with falsehoods that will spring up in hatreds. But though the people cannot be reached, the guilty leaders may be exposed; and to that work we now apply a fearless hand. The spirit of the book may be estimated by extracts in our Synopsis, pages 326–331.

Our readers who see not the Southern Methodist weeklies are generally unaware with what industry the editors and letter-writers of the Church South have for years past been circulating among these people the impression that the “Church North” is a political

body. Its sermons are declared to be political harangues; its conferences are caucuses; it toadies to General Grant; and one pre-eminent romancer lately asserted, writing from New York, that no man could be elected President unless supported by the "Church North." Close beside this fiction is placed the twin fiction that the Church South is a maiden pure, who not only stands apart from politics, but is to stand in virgin sanctity the model of the non-political Church of the future.

The history of this Southern non-politicalism can be briefly told. Before the secession of the now Church South from our Church the South was politically in the ascendent, and the Methodist preachers South never uttered a syllable of non-politicalism. Southern Methodist preachers were freely appointed to office by the executive, or elected by popular vote, to foreign ministries, to legislatures, and to Congress. We venture to affirm that at that period the Southern Methodist preachers filling political office were as five to one of the North. When, in 1844, secession from the Church was under discussion in General Conference, it was but too well known that the Southern preachers were in communication with, and probably acted under dictation from, the great political nullifier, John C. Calhoun. When the Church South was organized, *slavery was by it declared to be a purely political question* with which the Church has nothing to do, and the protest against slavery in the Discipline, inherited from our fathers, in accordance with Wesley himself, was erased from its pages as *a piece of politics*. Wesley, Asbury, Coke, the whole body of our antislavery fathers, were thereby thus labeled as "political parsons," and the Methodist Discipline, down to that moment, as a political book. When the political secession of the Southern States approached, it may be safely asserted that Southern Methodism gave a magnificent lead to the movement, people, preachers, and periodicals. We challenge a denial of this statement. The entire body of Southern Methodism before secession were unanimous for active secession, and, so far as secession in act is treason, it was solidly a treasonable Church. During the war her pulpits resounded with warlike sermons against the National Government, and several of her leading Churches as well as ministers were *shut up* for treason. They nobly sustained their lead in the treasonable movement by bravery in the treasonable war. It is conceded by at least some rebel generals that none prayed more fervently for their country's ruin than the Methodist chaplains, none aimed more deadly bullets at their country's heart than the Methodist soldiers. When,

however, the national victory brought them to reflection, *the non-political drama commenced*. It would, indeed, we think, have been wise for the Church South, after such politics as hers had been, to retire modestly from the political field. Had she done so, at least for a season, she would have merited our commendation. What she did do was to play off a non-political *show*, and then remain as political, and as treasonably political, as ever. When her conferences were reorganized the word was given out, "We must now say nothing about politics!" Bishops would say, "Not a word about politics during our session." The cue was given and taken, and from that time to this they have lifted up solemn sanctimonious eyes with—"The Church North is a political Church, but we, we are virgin of politics. The age needs us as a model non-political Church."

Of course, with their definition of politics, we are, and we are morally bound to be, political. If to be as individuals and as an organism opposed to slavery, with its human auction-blocks, its laws prohibiting education, and its nullification of the marriage contract, is politics, we are political and they are not. If to be attached to our country's unity, history, and nationality, is politics, we are political and they are not. If loyalty to our national Government, and a desire for its prosperity among the nations of the earth, are politics, we are political, and we fear they are not; for in ten years past we have seen from the organs of that Church not one expression of affection for our whole country or pride for our present national greatness.

We suppose, however, that our Church perfectly well understands, and with individual exceptions has correctly practiced, the true principle in relation to politics. No Church ever safely can (and our Church never has so done) commit herself to any subserviency to a political party, or take sides upon any secular political question. To mix in political campaigns, to support a political party or candidate as such, or to make any advantage by linking with any political organization, is what we as a Church have never done. But politics and ethics, nay, politics and religion, do not always stand apart, pure and simple. They are often involved together, and a Church must beware how she abdicates all right to interest herself in a moral question because it is implicated in legislation or party issue. It is the great spiritual and moral interests of the world that are committed to the Church. To those she must be true whatever the political platforms may be, favorable or unfavorable. The Church must maintain the exist-

ence of the Sabbath, or the sacredness of the Holy Scriptures, or the existence of God, even if a German political party should lay an anti-Sabbath, or anti-Bible, or an atheistic plank in its political platform. The Church must maintain the doctrine of the freedom of conscience, even if a political Romanistic party should make submission to the Pope its platform. And so if the rumsellers should make the abandonment of all checks to drunkenness a political platform, that does not discharge us from all obligation to maintain the cause of temperance. When the question of liquor-selling is put to a town vote, the pulpit does its duty in proclaiming the obligation of the voter to exercise his suffrage in the fear of God and in behalf of right. And so when the question is whether the marriage institution should be annulled, can the action of any political party *pro* or *con* annul the obligation of the Church to maintain the laws of God? And so, if it were proposed by a political party in caucus assembled that we should establish the auction-block in our streets, where, after ancient Southern fashion, handsome young mulatto girls could be exposed to a leering, lecherous crowd to be sold to the highest bidder, we trust that our Methodist pulpits would, like Wesley himself, "preach politics" in tones of thunder. And so when a Congress, infamous in future history, enacted at the dictation of the Southern slave-masters a fugitive slave law, requiring us to aid the slave-catcher in stealing his victim, it is one of the pleasant recollections of our personal life that we denounced the iniquity from the pulpit with a power that we know was forcibly felt by its supporters and abettors. Are not politicians and parties amenable to the law of God? Can governments or administrations annul the divine authority? Are the immutable laws of right and righteousness non-existent on the election grounds? Must I, as a preacher, study the newspapers and scan the political platforms in order to know what I may or may not preach? Must I ask the politician what sin I must rebuke? Must the Church take law from the caucus? Why, this pure non-politicalism, so called* by this cowardly Southern bishop, is real submission to the politicians. It was born of a long subserviency to the slave-holding oligarchy. Compelled by that execrable power to be silent on their great crime of slavery, the Southern ministry is now attempting to palm off their degraded subserviency to political dictation into a virtue and a purity. Did the Church South really intend to abdicate her office, as a Church, to rebuke all sin and sustain all holiness, thereby exempting political sins and sinners from the jurisdiction of the moral law, we should

hold her for that very fact sadly corrupt. But she really intends no such thing. As we have shown in our Synopsis on her "Southern Review," pp. 321-334, she is intensely political now. Give her a chance for court favor, and she would be supplest of ecclesiastical courtiers. All her affectation of purity now is simply in the absence of all temptation.

The ethics of the Bible do not encourage the abandonment of ethics to politicians. Moses was both a politician and a warrior, who opposed proslaveryism headed by royalty to its face, emancipated some millions of slaves, and founded a politico-religious constitution with the rite of circumcision for its base. Samuel was a prophet-politician. Jeremiah was punished and slain for "political preaching." The prophets, indeed, were uniformly "political-preachers;" in the sense, that is, of arraigning rulers and parties for wicked laws and policies, or, as they expressed it, for framing iniquity by a law. In this sense the Old Testament is a political, religious, book. Christ was born heir of the Palestinean political crown, and his birth sent dismay into the palace of Herod the political usurper. His worshipers from the East disobeyed the royal command. Jesus himself arraigned the ruling classes, decided that they should pay tribute to Cesar, was arraigned for treason, refused to plead, and cited his judge to his own judgment-bar. John the Baptist denounced the ruling classes of his day, and died a martyr to his faithfulness in rebuking royal sin. St. Stephen was stoned to death for announcing to the Government the cessation and overthrow of the State, city, and constitution. The apostles were arraigned before the national parliament, and refused to obey its decision in deference to the command of God. St. Paul spent his life in abolishing circumcision, the very basis of the Jewish politics and race. St. John finishes the bold interference of religion with politics by painting the Roman Government as a beast, and exhibiting Jesus Christ as slaughtering the kings of the earth. The great problem of the Church is, while keeping clear of party fetters, to sustain any party in its good and to oppose every party in its evil. The evangelical Churches of the North, our Methodism included, are well solving that problem. The Southern Church is proclaiming the immoral dogma that you may label any public sin "politics" and withhold all moral action.

The Southern Church is far more exclusively made up of one party than our own. We venture to believe that if a census could be taken there are ten Democrats in our Church to one Republican in the Church South. Dr. Thomas Carlton, a

Democrat, well known as such by the Church, was elected, and repeatedly re-elected, to the most responsible post in the Church throughout the entire antislavery battle. Does a single instance of a Republican in high position exist in the Church South? Two outspoken Democrats, the one a minister, the other a layman, were elected by Republican constituents to the last General Conference, and by the General Conference were elected to high quadrennial offices. Their politics formed no element in the canvasses *pro* or *con*. Can the Church South name any parallel Republican instances in their own body? The writer of this has a reverend brother-in-law, a true Methodist preacher in our Church, a life-long Democrat, who filled office under President Pierce, and who never uttered a complaint in our hearing that his democracy or office ever cost him any disparagement with his ministerial brethren. The present Democratic Mayor of New York, we are told, has always been a regular attendant at a Methodist Church. The late Moses F. Odell, a distinguished Democratic member of Congress from Brooklyn, was as eminent in Methodist enterprise as he was in Democratic politics; and we have heard him make his boast before public audiences that he never found any difficulty in carrying his religion into his politics. These are but a few instances within our immediate observation. How many more there are we do not know, for it is not a question often suggested. But we believe that we have a large minority of earnest Democrats, loyal to our Church, filling often responsible positions, and ready to testify that their politics cast no shade on their Churchly standing. We shall be glad to be told, what we do not at present believe, that there is such a minority of Republicans in the Church South. Which, then, is the political Church?

Periodicals.

The Southern Methodist Press.

Several of the Southern Methodist weeklies have intimated their displeasure at our late article on the "Ku-Klux Conspiracy." We select, as the best specimen, the following from Dr. Summers, our answer to which is an answer to the whole. His words are:

Then comes a second paper on Peter Cartwright, from the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, which might have been spared in a work like this; and so emphatically may be that which follows, "The Ku-Klux Conspiracy." Mr. Arnold, the writer, may be sincere in his statements, but the people of Alabama will not consider it all Gospel when such a man as Lakin is depended upon as credible authority! We know nothing about the Ku-Klux—we never, to our knowledge, saw any one who belonged to a Ku-Klux Clan. We have no doubt that some Southern men,

stung by the outrages to which they have been subjected, have sought redress in an unlawful way. We have uniformly denounced all such methods by whomsoever, and under whatsoever provocations, they have been resorted to; and hence we are the more indignant when the insinuation is made that the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was the *protégé* of the Ku-Klux conspirators. We presume not a single Southern Methodist ever belonged to the clan, whatever it might be; and we never before, so far as we can recollect, met with the insinuation that the M. E. Church, South, was in any way connected with this or any other unlawful combination, or patronized by it. Our preachers have been persecuted, and some of them put to death, by *loyal* sympathizers with the Northern Church, and some of them members of it; but when have our people interfered, or sought to interfere, with our co-religionists of the North, or with any others? The subject is an unpleasant one, and we are sorry that we have to revert to it again.

On all this we remark:

1. If Dr. Summers, or any other Southern editor, has ever "denounced" either "the Ku-Klux" violences, or any other outrages, such as burning school-houses, in good round earnest terms, truly and unequivocally calculated to arrest their course, we have never seen, either lately, or during all the years of Lynch rule, the paragraph containing the denunciation. We have usually read the columns of the "Nashville Advocate" carefully, and such a denunciation, with any hearty purpose of preventing disorder, has never yet gladdened our eye. If he will republish that paragraph, we will re-publish and do it generous justice. It has been largely in the power of that press, by earnest and united action, to check lawlessness and to pacificate the country, and to banish all divisive feelings between North and South, both Church and State. It would be a blessed work of peace and unity for a truly Christian Church. But not only has that press passed over these outrages in silence, or noted them, as Dr. Summers here has, with half apology and denial, but its general temper and position, from its Quarterly downward, has been favorable to sectional repulsion, popular disloyalty, and permanent issue. Their denunciations are pronounced, not upon the Ku-Klux, but rather, as in the present instance, upon those who expose the Ku-Klux atrocities. If that press and Church have not consciously made the Ku-Klux their *protégé*, the Ku-Klux has had no very apparent discountenance from them, and is the legitimate outcome of the position, principles, and temper of that press and Church, exhibited through all their organs from the Quarterly and Bishops downward.

2. The intimation that our Ku-Klux article was out of place in our Quarterly we take cheerfully. But the difficulty is, that while these brethren are very tender about onslaughts from the North, they are very jubilant over onslaughts upon the North. They relish broadsides finely, provided the broadsides all pour but one way. They would like a whole stream of avalanches to

rush in permanent cataract northward, but it is quite "out of place" for such an article to come rolling southward. When Leftwich published his book rehearsing, truly or falsely, the outrages of war in Missouri, that book was editorially eulogized as surely true, was episcopally authenticated, and energetically circulated. Said the truculent Bishop Marvin in indorsing that book, (an indorsement subsequently spread at full length on the pages of the "Southern Review,") "I have met some who say 'Let the past sleep; let all crimes, and the bad blood engendered by them, be buried forever.' I have not so learned Christ." No, the episcopal seditious had doubtless derived his inspirations from an opposite quarter. And when we rebuked this truly Ku-Klux utterance, Dr. Summers responded by a defense and eulogy of this sanctimonious performer of Satan's dirty work under the abused name of Christ. More lately, that series of episcopal libels upon our Church, entitled, "Methodist Episcopal Churches, North and South," has received every indorsement by authority and circulation among the people possible. Now we have for years been willing to forget the past. We have heartily desired the dismissal of unkindly feelings, and silence over all unpleasant memories. We have prayed for the interchange of the guileless right hand in fraternity, and, if expediently best, reunion. But let not our Southern brethren cherish the dream that all the forgetting is to be on one side. We have many a terrible memory to recall, of Southern outrages; not merely atrocities in war, but violences committed in time of peace. We might republish, for instance, the history, written by the late Dr. Elliott, of the martyrdom of Anthony Bewley, murdered for adherence to our Church, earlier than 1856. There is the unwritten history of the breaking up of an annual conference, under Bishop Simpson, by a Missouri mob, also before 1856. There is another history of the breaking up of our conference under Bishop Janes, by a Texas mob, after 1856. Perhaps Dr. Summers, who is so clairvoyant as to be sure "that *not a single Southern Methodist* ever belonged to the [Ku-Klux] Clan," can expand his assertions so far as to assure us that no Methodist ever mixed in the mobs that murdered Bewley, or broke up our peaceful conferences. But while we have ever been willing, and are at this moment, to "forget the past," we promptly decline the duty of silently accepting the continuance of Southern indictments until these self-righteous brethren infer, from our very forbearance, that we are confessed culprits, and that our offer of fraternity is a begging of pardon.

3. We have lately seen nothing more preposterous than Dr. Summer's denial of the Ku-Klux atrocities, especially attested by the public oath of "such a man as Lakin." This language regarding Mr. Lakin is part and parcel of the continuous insult with which our ministers are treated by the Church South; more especially when those ministers proffer courtesies. This is the magranimous return for the uniform courtesy with which the ministers of the Church South are treated here in the North, and by our own Church. Mr. Lakin, with the unimpeached character of a Christian minister, went into open court, testified upon oath, in the presence of, and under cross-examination by, the most talented opposing counsel, to public facts in large masses, subjecting himself to the easiest conviction of perjury if his statements were false. Even the able counsel for the prisoners, the eminent Southerner, Reverdy Johnson, said: "I have listened with un-mixed horror to some of the testimony which has been brought before you. The outrages PROVED are shocking to humanity; they admit of neither excuse nor justification; they violate every obligation which law and nature impose upon every man." Such, we are ashamed to say, is the frank truthfulness of a "worldly" lawyer in contrast with the *Christian* editor!

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Miscellaneous.

Sacramental Addresses and Meditations. By HENRY BELFRAGE, D.D. Eighth edition, complete in one volume. 12mo., pp. 411. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1873.

Brief, glowing paragraphs, uttered, according to the custom of good old Scotia, successively to the successive sets of communicants at the communion table.

Wesley and Swedenborg. A Fraternal Appeal to Methodist Ministers, inviting them to Consider the Relations of Methodism to the New Church. By E. R. KEYES. 12mo., pp. 72. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1872.

Written in a spirit of Christian candor worthy all respect. But we can hardly second the invitation to our ministry to consider the question of merging into a system so far from Christ, and showing so little aggressive power as Swedenborgianism.

Bogatzky's Golden Treasury. 16mo., pp. 384. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

The Well in the Desert. An Old Legend of the House of Arundal. By EMILY SARAH HOLT. 12mo., pp. 144. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1873.

The Curate's Home. By AGNES GIBERNE. 12mo., pp. 442. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1872.

Martyrs to the Tract Cause. A Contribution to the History of the Reformation. 16mo., pp. 164. By J. F. HURST, D.D. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1872.

- Afternoons with Grandma.* From the French of Madame Carrand. By Mrs. MARY KURMIONT. 12mo., pp. 320. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1873.
- The Man With the Book; or, The Bible Among the People.* By JOHN MATTHIAS WEYLLAND. Four Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 268. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1873.
- The Lost Found, and the Wanderer Welcomed.* By WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D.D., Minister of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York. 12mo., pp. 170. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873.
- Fruit Recorder and Cottage Gardener.* A. M. PURDY, Editor. Monthly. 4to., pp. 192. Palmyra, New York. 1873.
- Purdy's Small Fruit Instructor.* Containing Plain and Practical Directions for Planting, Growing, and Marketing Small Fruits. A. M. PURDY, Editor. 12mo., pp. 64. Palmyra, New York. 1873.
- Renata of Este.* A Chapter from the History of the Reformation in France and Italy. By Rev. CARL STRACK, Pastor near Giessen, Germany. Translated from the German by CATHERINE E. HURST. 12mo., pp. 252. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1873.
- Vick's Illustrated Floral Guide for 1873.* 12mo., pp. 132. Rochester, N. Y. 1873.
- The Story of the Nile.* Travels and Adventures in Nubia and Abyssinia. By the Author of "The White Foreigners from Over the Water." Five Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 157. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1873.
- Songs for Worship.* By T. C. O'KANE. 16mo., pp. 160. Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1873.
- The Constitutional History of England.* From the Accession of Henry VII. to the Death of George II. By HENRY HALLAM, LL.D. Incorporating the Author's Latest Additions and Corrections, and Adapted to the Use of Students. By WILLIAM SMITH, LL.D. 12mo., pp. 747. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1873.
- The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby.* By CHARLES DICKENS. With 52 Illustrations, by C. S. Reinhart. 8vo., green and gilt, pp. 339. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1873.
- The Foreigner in Far Cathay.* By W. H. MEDHURST, H. B. M. Consul, Shanghai. 12mo., green and gilt, pp. 204. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873.
- The Complete Poetical Works of John Greenleaf Whittier.* Household Edition. 12mo., pp. 395. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., late Ticknor & Fields, and Fields, Osgood & Co. 1873.
- Had You Been in His Place.* By LIZZIE BATES. 12mo., pp. 422. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1872.
- The Personal History of David Copperfield.* By CHARLES DICKENS. With a Portrait of the Author, and Sixty-one Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 361. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1872.
- Life Lessons from the Book of Proverbs.* By WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, D.D. 12mo., pp. 361. New York: T. Whitaker.
- An Ecclesiastical History from the Thirteenth to the Nineteenth Century.* By the Rev. C. M. BUTLER, D.D. 12mo., pp. 595. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen, & Haffelfinger.

Received too late for notice in this number:

- Fisher's History of the Reformation.* Scribner, Armstrong, & Co.
Draper's Year-Book of Science. Scribner, Armstrong, & Co.
Speaker's Commentary, Vol. II. Scribner, Armstrong, & Co.
Gregg's Enigmas of Life. J. R. Osgood & Co.

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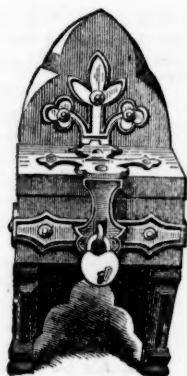
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